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# The Integration of Traditional leaders The Democratization Process

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**A case study of the integration of traditional leaders in the democratization process  
in Sudan**

by

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
**MASTER OF SCIENCE**

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Program of Study Committee:  
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Ames, Iowa

2009

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**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

ABSTRACT	iv
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW	3
CHAPTER 3. THEORY	8
CHAPTER 4. CHRONOLOGICAL STUDY	20
CHAPTER 5. JABARONA CAMP FOR INTERNALLY DISPLACED PEOPLE	64
CHAPTER 6. LESSONS LEARNED FROM OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES	77
CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	81
APPENDIX A. DEMOGRAPHICS OF THE CAMP	86
APPENDIX B. PHOTOS	89
BIBLIOGRAPHY	98

## **ABSTRACT**

Governance is a common problem in African countries wherein it manifests itself in various phenomena, such as authoritarian rules, conflict, civil wars, poverty, and unemployment. The research studied to tackle this problem addressed issues on the central governmental level in terms of constitutional and institutional arrangements. Sudan is one of the most complicated cases of governance in Africa considering its long history of civil wars and dictatorships.

Using Sudan as a case, this study addressed the issue of governance in traditional communities and rural areas. The study focused on the emphasis on popular participation and civic engagement as measures to guarantee representation and equal distribution of developmental efforts. It was posited that the integration of the traditional leaders in a national structure would increase popular participation and, thereby, strengthen representation in traditional communities and rural areas.

Using political science and anthropological paradigms, a longitudinal analysis was undertaken to examine the evolution of traditional leaders in Sudan and their influence on socio-political dynamics. The study traced traditional leaders and their relationship with the central authority, and the impact of their role in the socio-political dynamics of the society from pre-colonialism and colonialism through post-colonialism. The Jabarona camp for internally displaced people was investigated to ascertain how traditional leaders influenced events within the camp and social issues were handled. This study also explored selected Africans' experiences with traditional leaders to draw lessons for Sudan.

It was concluded that traditional leaders are important for integration within a national structure. Such leaders are able to strengthen representation of the rural communities by promoting popular participation at the local and national and motivate inter-communal interaction for nation-building and stability purposes.

## CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

The ubiquitous phenomena of civil wars, conflicts, violence, and poverty in Africa have brought forth questions regarding political order and crises of governance that prevail on the continent. Efforts made to address these issues have taken different avenues of investigation. Some researchers emphasize political strategies at high levels of government, such as power sharing and the ethnicity of leaders. Some focus on economic and development issues, whereas others espouse that the legacy of colonialism has had the greatest share in causing wars and conflict in Africa. These efforts are important in addressing the democratization process because they highlight some of the problems that need to be resolved.

Within this context, Sudan has been considered one of Africa's most complicated cases due to a variety of crises and dilemmas. Sudan is frequently referred to as a microcosm of Africa because of its geographic, cultural, ethnic, religious, and linguistic composition wherein all of Africa's features are present in the Sudan. Considering its political record, Sudan can also be considered as representative of Africa due to its experiences with the longest civil war, armed conflicts, coups, and dictatorships. Therefore, regarding the gravity of the current situation in Sudan and other African countries, research on the democratization process may be considered as an urgent necessity.

When addressing the issue of governance in Africa in general and Sudan in particular, most efforts emphasize peace agreements, constitutional arrangements, and other developmental issues. Despite these endeavors, Africa generally and Sudan specifically, pose a challenging question and generate doubts about the possibility of eventually achieving political stability. Yet, these existing efforts to explain the potential for democratic stability have overlooked the social and cultural foundations for political stability and democracy present in this region. Specifically, most of the research in this area does not consider traditional leadership as a possible subject for political change and social engagement. This is surprising considering the socio-cultural traits of Sudan in particular and Africa in general, where traditional leaders have had a powerful influence on local communities throughout history. The socio-cultural influence has assumed different appearances according to diverse situations, but the compelling fact is that traditional leaders exert a significant socio-cultural

influence. When addressing Africa's situation, analysts often look for elements that have made stories of Western countries. However, when these elements are not found, Africa is considered a puzzle or a continent with inherent factors of failure. Studies of Africa have also ignored democratic practices and libertarian traditions that have existed in Africa centuries before penetration by colonial expeditions.

In this study, the researcher proposes that traditional leaders should be considered for the democratization process to achieve sustainable peace and political stability. The research intended to ascertain whether traditional leaders' integration in the democratization process will increase popular political participation, which is a critical element for democracy and its sustainability. Popular participation was targeted as the vehicle for achieving nation-building and stability. It is important to note that the integration of traditional leaders does not refer to tribal politics; nor does it indicate power sharing on ethnic bases, which can lead to fractionalization. Rather, traditional leaders are considered as participants in a national project of democratization and nation building. More importantly, this study also moves beyond the use of electoral participation as a single indicator and guarantor of popular participation and, thus, representation in a democracy. Instead, this researcher emphasizes a number of ways that citizens can engage in representative government through networks of civil activism. In doing so, Sudan is used as a case addressing social-cultural influence in a longitudinal study through history to examine the roles of traditional leaders and the possibility of their integration of a national governance structure. The Jabarona camp for internally displaced people is also examined to verify whether this importance is limited to the communities of origin or if it is an ingrained component of their identities. Subsequently, some African experiences with traditional leaders are explored to draw lessons regarding Sudan's future. The study concludes by restating the theory, presenting the findings, and offering recommendations for practical application.

## CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Several political studies of African nations have made attempts to explain the political order, and ubiquitous conflicts and violence. Scholars have taken varied avenues in their efforts to disentangle the major causes and contributing factors to this phenomenon. In his study “States and Power in Africa,” Herbst (2000) offered a rich analysis of African politics, which is especially significant because it provides a historical background of the African story. In this historical narrative, Herbst (35-37) pointed out that the disperse populations and vast distances separating them contributed to the concept of power and state in pre-colonial Africa. He added that the legacy of colonialism forced many leaders to confront enormous challenges to keep their state boundaries intact. This contrasted with pre-colonialism rule (Herbst:97-136). Moreover, Herbst indicated the importance of African traditional leaders’ influence. He argued regarding the irony of sovereignty in African states whereby central authorities embraced the notion of sovereignty while the local leaders were the actual holders of control over the land (Herbst:139-197).

Herbst’s (2000) account of politics in Africa made significant addition to the study of African politics by considering traditional leaders as political players. However, he did not indicate a path that political actors might follow in order to consolidate states in Africa and promote democratic rule. This path was open for other researchers to pursue.

Addressing the issue of governance in Africa, Mamdani (1996) emphasized the gap between rural areas and urban centers. Mamdani conducted a diagnostic analysis to explain how the legacy of colonialism produced this gap. He espoused that African governments are trapped in this legacy and, as a result, face a paramount quandary regarding rural-urban contradictions. Mamdani argued the attempts to achieve reform in Africa would be fruitless unless this gap was addressed, and used historical narratives to demonstrate how this gap contributed to governance problems in Africa. The point that Mamdani made is significant since it sheds light on and offers a diagnosis regarding part of the dilemma of governance and development in Africa. However, Mamdani did not offer a direction to practically address this dilemma.

Studies on democratization have examined how formal institutions influence the relationship between politics and government. In his book, “Making Democracy Work: Civic



Tradition in Modern Italy,” Putnam (1993:8) studied the development and evolution of regional institutions in Italy, focusing on cultural and political environments. Putnam suggested that government institutions receive inputs from their social environment and produce outputs to respond to that environment (9). He added that each institution affects the ways in which individuals and groups become politically activated within and outside the institution (17). Putnam also showed that the support for and cooperation with the national government in Italy was bought about by adjustments in national policy to suit local coalitions or, at least, to suit the locally powerful individuals. Putnam (38) pointed that the prefects, though responsible for controlling the local governments, were also responsible for conciliating traditional local elites. He noted that the effects of involvement in regional government were that the ideological intransigence was being supplanted by appreciation of compromise and technical expertise. Putnam argued that the vibrant civic traditions in some parts of Italy where they are dense social networks with traditions of reciprocity and cooperation contributed to the success in its government institutions. Putnam also argued that norms of social collaboration built on trust, tolerance, and widespread citizen participation involving “norms and networks of social engagement” (90) were essential to democracy.

The importance of Putnam’s study is that Putnam (1993) revealed that the social and cultural bases must be taken into account in democratization process. He also pointed out that the institutional socialization transforms individuals’ identities into more engaged altruistic and concerned-with-public-issues individuals. Nevertheless, Putnam’s study did not indicate how to build institutions based on these cultural traditions of cooperation. Putnam indicated the importance of the cultural traditions, but he did not expound on how to utilize them to guarantee the success of the institutions.

In “*Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy after Civil War*,” Roeder and Rothschild (2005) discussed the critical elements for achieving stability and sustainability after the civil war. They focused on the constitutional arrangements and the functionality of different branches of the government. The authors espoused that dividing-power arrangements are more likely to deter the escalation of ethnic conflict to ethno-national crisis. They suggested that power-dividing institutions guarantee the rights of ethnic groups and other groups through universalistic private and associational lives. In their book, Roeder and

Rothschild indicated that, in the power-sharing form of governance, the leaders generally make all the issues ethnic in nature which destabilizes the government and democracy. They argued that power-dividing is a compelling form of democracy that leads to sustainability. In addition, this form empowers all the majorities instead of one majority and empowers the civil society's institutions and their roles in democracy, individual liberties against governmental intrusion.

Although Roeder and Rothschild (2005) made a noteworthy contribution to studies on peace and democratization, their account did not explain how to build democratic institutions on the local level. They failed to take into consideration the cultural and social basis of civic tradition and cooperation norms. Moreover, they maintained that ethnic groups were key political players in the realm of government and administration. This reasoning led to consolidated ethnic identity and brought about imminent risk to peace and stability of the society.

In a key work on explaining Africa's political performance, Bates (2008) made a particularly noteworthy contribution with "When Things Fell Apart," which highlights the importance of public revenues, democratization and natural resources, and the manner in which they influence the possibilities for political order. Bates (33-53) argued that African political elites reconfigured African political institutions in their search for wealth and power, and transformed them from multi-party to single- or no-party systems or even replacing civilian governments with military regimes. Bates (54-74) noted that the authoritarian elites availed themselves of resources which enabled them to recruit clients and build political machines and, thereby, remain in power. Bates (129-139) also negated the assumption that Africa's political failure is attributed to its high ethnic heterogeneity and suggested ethnic tensions can be attributed to the state failure.

Bates (2008) accounted for the critical factors that generally contribute to the political phenomenon worldwide. The drawbacks of his account are that he overlooked the legacy of colonialism and its role on setting the bases for political failures in Africa. Bates (93) also noted that the African societies at the local level have the natural features of bearing the political disorder. This is, at best, an arbitrary conclusion about complicated situations wherein armed conflict has objective causes and historical conditions as contributors. Bates

overlooked the positive socio-cultural features of these societies which can bear the seeds for cooperation and collective positive engagement. In addition, Bates did not indicate the means to build democratic institutions, and a link from the grassroots level with the government was not clear in his assessment.

Wolf (1999) provided a comprehensive account of how power relations are built on cultural basis. In his book, “Envisioning Power: Ideologies and Dominance and Crisis,” he explained how cultures and ideas inform the political structure throughout history. Wolf espoused that social arrangements and political process are historically conditioned, and determined by cultures and ideas. He made a strong case for the abiding value of the concept of culture—where ideas and power intersect, and power is manifested through symbolic expression. Wolf (2) stated that “structural power implicate ideas and are played out in social arrangements and cultural configurations.” His rich anthropological analysis accounted for the materialistic and ideational factors in power relations.

Wolf’s (1999) study laid the foundation for tackling the political structure and power relations within a cultural context along with other historical factors, and confirmed that values, norms and ideas are critical in determining the social arrangement of a society. Furthermore, the study emphasized the salience of individuals as the agency that determines the use of cultural traits to promote power relations and social arrangements. In the current study of democratization in Africa, the implication of culture on power relations and political order was considered as important as other factors.

Although the aforementioned studies made significant attempts to explain African political problems, they failed to indicate specific ways to tackle Africa’s governance dilemmas in a practical sense. For example, the studies did not offer a plan for initiating democratic governments that provide solutions for governance and development at local levels. They also failed to take into account the cultural contexts and social systems in African politics. More specifically, they ignored the role of traditional leaders and their significant influence on their communities. Previous accounts also failed to consider the positive role that belief systems and socio-cultural values play in African politics. The current study explored the potentialities of integrating traditional leaders in the

democratization process. It also explored the socio-cultural values that could potentially have a positive contribution in the democratization process in Africa.

### CHAPTER 3. THEORY

The democratic system is built on the pillars of representation, participation, and institutional rules of accountability and transparency. The power of democracy is derived from its legitimacy as it is established on the will of the people and emerges from their socio-cultural norms. A democracy sustains these norms while allowing room for innovation and freedom of exercise and expression. Guaranteeing “representation” in a democracy is a challenging task in a governance system, especially from a structural point of view. This is especially true in societies that include wide ranges of differences among communities that include traditional, non-traditional, and plural cultural and social groups. It becomes even more challenging in fledgling democracies in societies that have had a history of civil war and conflicts while dealing with legacies of colonialism and dictatorships. These challenges emerge from the fact that, in the pluralist societies, the sources of legitimacy vary from one communal setting to another. This is also true for the varying types of power centers based on the socio-cultural and economic factors within each of these communities. Thus, to meet the “representation” condition in a pluralist society that has experienced a long history of conflict, dictatorships, and a legacy of colonialism, it is imperative to investigate traditional communities and their leadership, and determine how they can be integrated in the democratization process based on democratic rule.

A major foundational point in my theory is that traditional communities should be treated as integrated wholes of inseparable parts wherein the organization of the community is established based on socio-cultural values and norms that are shaped by the physical environment of the community and its historical experience. These socio-cultural values and norms are interactively related to the economic activities and spiritual belief system of the community. Thus, the social organization of the community is established on and is a product of the socio-cultural system that serves to sustain it. In other words, social organization takes place in the environmental and economic platform of the community, and is both shaped and shaped by it. Therefore, traditional communities must be considered as webs of complex and dynamically interactive cultural, spiritual, economic, and organizational components. Hence, in traditional communities, the political and social authorities reside on socio-cultural systems that allocate power and decision-making responsibility on individuals perceived to

have spiritual or cultural legitimacy. Based on this premise, and as an implication of this author's theory, when tackling issues of governance or development, it is futile to address power relations in isolation from this interconnected web of multiple aspects of traditional communities. Likewise, it is ineffectual to address economic activities separately from other social and cultural features of traditional communities. Rather, it is productive to interpret these communities according to their complexity and grasp how their various aspects interact to influence one another and how, collectively, these factors produce the community's dynamics.

Since traditional leaders are involved in different types of social processes and exert significant influence on their communities, they must be part of the democratization process. Considering traditional leadership in the democratization process serves many functions that lead to increase in popular participation and, ultimately, nation-building. These functions are discussed as follows. First, channeling the power and influence of traditional leaders in democratic institutions enables the introduction of institutional practices in local communities. This will be witnessed in formal organizations and committees promoted and supported by traditional leaders to carry out specified tasks and face issues while embracing institutional rules. It ensures optimal ways of solving social and economic problems, and promotes positive engagement in public issues. Second, if the influence of traditional leaders is channeled into institutionalized democratic forms, it can lead to linking people at the grassroots level to the central authorities. This must be manifested in two important ways, by: (a) cooperating with the central authority while engaging in national issues, and (b) demanding the central authority serves local aims. Both elements are necessary for a successful democracy, since they promote popular participation based on identification with a legitimate central authority. Third, organizing traditional leaders into local forms of institutions will transform their influence into a formal institutionalized platform instead of a casual context-based form, thereby introducing measures of accountability, transparency and systematic review. This would deepen democratic rule into the culture, thereby making it sustainable. Fourth, the integration of traditional leaders in a national structure will accentuate the cultural diversity and ethnic pluralism of the society which makes it an obligatory fact to be considered by the central authority in its conduct. It fortifies the

representational power of democracy and leads it to an equal distribution of social development. Fifth, co-existence of traditional leaders in a national structure will facilitate inter-communal communication and cultural exchange as a means for nation-building. It enables a nation-building process that embraces unity in diversity according to the values of recognition and respect.

In addition, acknowledging and emphasizing cultural diversity by the integrated traditional leaders will serve nation-building by fostering national cultural identity. Involving the leaders of these institutions in training and capacity building programs will enable them to acquire skills of conflict resolution, resources management, and other managerial and communication tools which will benefit their local communities. Thus, the ultimate product of integrating traditional leaders in a national structure will ensure a public who is active at the local level and engaged in issues on the national level, and tackles problems in a democratic manner under a unified national cultural identity that embraces diversity. Engaging traditional leaders in the democratization process sows the foundation for peace and stability built upon a culturally-based democracy that is sustainable.

Contrary to the aforementioned proposition, some analysts have espoused that traditional leaders serve as hindering obstacles regarding democratic rule. In response to this allegation, it should be noted that traditional leaders have long held a positive role which can contribute to the democratization process which existed a long time before the notion of democratic systems. Their positive influence has continued to the present, despite deliberate or non-deliberate attempts throughout history to eliminate them. This positive role is observed in their skill to lead local communities by managing issues, solving problems, and representing their cultural symbolism. These skills should be recognized as stabilizing inputs with the potential to capitalize on for promoting democracy and nation-building. Involving traditional leaders promotes the public's participation on the local level and facilitates their engagement on a national level. Moreover, and contrary to what has been promoted, by building democratic institutions on the existing cultural basis, the probability for sustainability and stability of society will be higher than when traditional leadership and the cultural basis are eliminated. When traditional leaders are left out of the democratization process, potential sources of legitimacy as well as power of representation and mobilization

are greatly diminished. If Traditional communities were excluded from the political process or marginalized in regards to economic development. The results may lead to poverty and engagement in conflict or failure of the citizens to engage in the local institutions, a fact that undermines the democratic rule itself. If traditional leaders are successfully incorporated in a national structure, institutions at the local level have the potential to prevent conflict, while optimizing human and natural resources to serve the socio-political and economic development of the local community. This, in turn, will enable the nation to achieve stability and economic development at the national level. The integration of traditional leaders also serves as a way to bring about diversity of the local to the national, thereby promoting a unified national self-image which invests in its multiplicity and pluralism. Thus, instead of excluding traditional leaders, who are symbolic of their respective cultures, they should be targeted as tools to promote a national cultural identity through their representation in a structure that facilitates dialectic relations between local and national , as well as among different local communities.

### **Why Traditional Leaders?**

To build a sustainable democracy that consolidates peace and stability, it should be well-rooted in the social traditions of the society, and its institutions must be culturally-based when among existing sources of political authority. This is because the legitimacy of democratic rule is driven and sustained, by necessity, from cultural values and resembles a structural manifestation to it. Hence, acknowledging cultural values that promote popular participation and activism for collective good while enhancing the social norms for handling social issues are part of the democratization process. Incorporating traditional leadership in the democratization process contributes to the criteria of representation and legitimacy while eliminating the possibility of excluding integral members of the society from their input in governance. This is especially important in pluralist societies and countries with ailing government, civil war and conflict. Moreover, traditional leaders are vital as active members in new political institutions to guarantee the government is responsive to its constituents by fostering feedback mechanisms between government and the public.

Furthermore, traditional communities, such as those in the Nuba Mountains, the nomads of Kordofan, the southern-Sudanese tribal communities, and the tribal groups of



eastern Sudan, have solid social networks which are essential for collaboration. These social networks are a readily existing social capital to invest in for democratization and institution building. These social networks are manifested in family ties wherein both the immediate and extended family have a collective responsibility to the wellbeing of its members. Social networks are comprised of frequent and regular gatherings for celebrations and ceremonial activities. They also convene to solve problems of a collective or individual concern. These types of social networks are also manifested in neighborhood ties where people have a significant collective sense of responsibility toward each other. They confer to solve problems and manage their neighborhood issues. Some areas have organized forms of social entities to help the needy, meet the needs of social occasions and solve disputes. Some of these forms include membership groups such as youth, women, community elders, and sports clubs. The social networks also include general contacts and friends where there are remarkably strong ties and a common sense of solidarity. These social networks generally have an informal relationship with local traditional leaders of the community. It is informal because there is no official obligation put upon them by members of the community. Rather, these social networks draw their legitimacy from the social traditions, cultural norms, and values of the society. Relationships are built upon mutual respect, trust, and a collective sense of responsibility. The dynamics of these social networks are especially strong during times of crises, loss, danger, and need. Hence, social networks along with their cultural value bases should be considered a rich potential to capitalize on when promoting popular participation and projecting nation-building programs.

In new and developing democracies, these social networks can be mobilized and directed toward more public participatory roles to place demands on the government by voicing each community's interests and concerns. The traditional leaders in these communities have a significant level of trust placed on them by their people. They also have the ability to direct behavior and decisions, especially regarding interaction with other communities. Traditional leaders exercise their influence by engaging in activities such as solving disputes and managing resources, or by acting as charismatic role models in the community. They often employ cultural tools, such as poetry, songs, rituals, stories and proverbs, to disseminate and maintain the socio-cultural values of the community. Investing

in social capital through traditional leaders promotes public participation and deepens the democratic process within the culture which guarantees its sustainability. Traditional leaders accept their role in a new democracy because of the responsibility already placed on them by their community. This responsibility provides traditional leaders with power and, at the same time, compels them to maintain culture and tradition. That is, the dialectic relationship between the community and their leaders is established and maintained by the culture which serves as a framework to assert the role of their leaders. Additionally, involving traditional leaders in institutions impacts their behavior and how they influence their communities. As espoused by institutionalists, institutions shape politics by impacting the social structure and behavior. When traditional leaders, themselves, are part of institutions, they promote the rules and procedures of an organization as well as democratic practices. As part of the democratization process, while influencing their communities, traditional leaders support democracy and promote popular participation according to civic rules.

### **Incentives to resist**

It is expected that some traditional leaders may have incentives to resist integration in a democratic national structure. This might be due to a number of reasons. First, traditional leaders might resist integration due to the notion that integration in a national structure would undermine their power and diminish their influence on their own communities. In this regard, it should be emphasized that integration, when implemented, should not limit this power of traditional leaders; rather, it should exploit this power not only to benefit of the community but also to enhance the legitimacy of the state. In a way, integration will enhance traditional power and provide it with additional legitimacy. To elucidate, the legitimacy of the central authority and the legitimacy of the traditional authority should be conceived as symbiotic as they are in a mutual and interactive relationship, relying on one another while fortifying each other. Second, traditional leaders are expected to resist integration if the central state is not considerate of local concerns, and seeks to control or assimilate traditional communities rather than represent them. This necessitates embracing democratic conduct in the content of the democratic governance rather than limiting it only to its structure. That is, one must acknowledge the diversity of the society and allow sufficient latitude for traditional communities to exercise their individuality and cultural groups' rights through policies that

protect and meet basic needs for their livelihood. This is as opposed to superficially incorporating traditional leaders in positions in the national system without regard to the quality of governance or benefit to local communities. Third, traditional leaders are expected to resist if the central authority imposes a foreign structure, rules, or parallel leaders either to control communities or to “modernize” them according to the central authority’s own interpretation of modernization or “positive” change. Therefore, it is important to ensure that the structure and rules are not harming their lives by dealing heedlessly with norms and values of the traditional communities. The power structure and leaders of traditional communities are extensions of the socio-cultural system and a complementary part of the integrated whole. Imposing leadership by the central authority would lead to expulsion, and would destabilize traditional communities while undermining the governance system.

It has also been argued that traditional leaders pose challenges to democracy and its institutions because traditional leaders represent a different type of authority, wherein they are considered “traditional” and the democratic authority is considered “rational” according to Max Weber’s categorization of authority. I argue the relevance of this point when traditional leaders, along with their authorities, are excluded or neglected from the political process. Further elaboration on this point, it is imperative to address local communities as a whole of inseparable parts wherein the social, cultural, and organizational intricately interact with the economical, environmental, and spiritual to produce a community with its dynamics. Thus, when attempting social change in the direction of democratic rule, it is paramount to address communities as woven webs with the whole as the sum of interconnected parts. Hence, to achieve a desirable change, it is critical to avoid projecting structures and rules in which power centers represented by traditional leaders are excluded or bypassed to design arrangements according to what is dictated by theoretical abstracts apart from the realities of these communities. This includes imposing a worldview that is foreign to a traditional community, assuming the community should adopt it because it is a righteous worldview for them. Therefore, I assume that traditional leaders will not hinder democracy if they are acknowledged and seriously considered as an integral part of the political institutions. Traditional leaders will enhance democracy if they are approached to partake in the democratization process since they already wield power within their communities. That is

because they would supply power within a democracy with greater legitimacy as representatives of their respective traditions. Traditional leaders would also contribute significant quality to democracy by activating the citizens—an essential factor in a democracy. They would also serve as valuable sources for cultural values and social norms that encourage collective activism and celebrate positive public engagement.

Therefore, and based on the previous discussion, I put forth that the attitude of the central authority toward traditional leaders as power centers is a critical factor when determining the reaction of traditional leaders regarding the democratization process and the attempts to integrate them in a national structure. Thus, if the central authority is more permissive and constructive toward traditional institutions, traditional leaders will be more cooperative and productive in the democratization process.

Accordingly, traditional leaders should be consulted on policymaking and decisions that impact their communities. They should also be contacted to negotiate in conflict resolution and peace agreement efforts. To achieve a systematic role, traditional leaders should have specific roles within local institutions that provide public goods in terms of political representation, policy making, basic services, and security issues. For example, the traditional courts and councils that set up in camps for internally displaced persons around Khartoum. Traditional leaders and leaders from different communities should also be involved in deliberating social issues. Thus, local leaders should be relied upon to negotiate intra-community matters which would then be channeled to the government. The process would include their opinions and decisions as well as the concerns of the citizens. Traditional leaders should also be considered for programs of capacity building on issues of governance, nation-building, democracy and their roles within the entire country. To enhance the process of traditional leaders' integration and to cultivate the optimum outcomes, it is useful to examine the experiences of other countries that have endeavored to incorporate traditional institutions in their governance systems. For example, accounts from Botswana, Namibia, Nigeria, and South Africa may shed light on the positive and negative outputs to project the feasibility of democratization in Sudan.

The subjects of this thesis research include traditional communities that are defined as socially organized according to common local cultural traditions and beliefs, and are

generally led by consultation of a traditionally appointed leader. It is also useful to illustrate communities that are not traditional. Whereas non-traditional communities include neighborhoods and local councils that are administered by officially and centrally appointed leaders who belong to provincial or regional councils, traditional communities have locally selected traditional leaders based on common cultural knowledge. Although non-traditional neighborhoods have social networks and socio-cultural traditions similar to those of traditional communities, they differ in the way they are socially organized and led. Non-traditional neighborhoods are ethnically, culturally and, sometimes, religiously heterogeneous, while traditional communities are basically homogenous. Non-traditional neighborhoods usually occupy urban centers, whereas traditional communities occupy rural areas. These factors lead to variation in the types of economic activities and other forms of social enterprise between traditional communities and non-traditional ones. The influence of traditional leaders on their communities is basically exerted through consultation and advice via common language, values, and norms. Traditional leaders use their power and influence on their communities to encourage and support popular participation. Therefore, they could also direct the people's efforts and organize them to work for their communities through political institutions as a part of democratization process.

This set of theoretical propositions lead to the following hypothesis: If the democratization process integrates traditional leadership, it will increase popular participation which would ultimately contribute to nation-building and stability.

### **Analytical Tools**

An analysis of traditional leaders' potential roles in a national structure encompass the following aspects: their socio-political roles examining their relation with both the local community and the central authority. It also examines traditional leaders' sources of legitimacy and how it maintained. Additionally, the analysis addresses the type of socio-cultural organization in which traditional leaders and their communities reside. Finally, the study discusses the influence traditional leaders have on the public and the outcomes of that influence.

Sudan is applied in a case study of the integration of traditional leaders in the democratization process using longitudinal analysis to investigate the theory in different

historical periods: pre-colonialism, colonialism, and post-colonialism. In each period I will examine the importance of traditional leaders, the sources of their legitimacy, their roles and achievements, and the attitude of the central authority towards them and how that impacted them. I will also explore the general social organization of traditional communities. Then I will investigate Jabarona camp for internally displaced people to examine popular participation before and after displacement, and the role of traditional leaders in directing the activities in the camp. Thereafter, I will explore some African countries' experiences in regard to the integration of traditional institutions in the governance system. Longitudinal cases are studied to determine the importance of traditional leaders in the socio-political processes undergone in the country. It is also studied to illustrate the evolution of the traditional leadership in Sudan to understand the present socio-political reality. This research also considers the role and influence of traditional leaders through a longitudinal study to envision their potential roles if integrated in a national structure. An attempt will be made to explain the evolution of traditional leaders through history and changes in their roles, legitimacy, and organization. More importantly, the study traces the evolution and dynamics of traditional leaders and their relationships with the central authority and how these factors influenced their roles and their relation with their communities.

The analysis also traces the shifts that occurred in the power centers in terms of their nature and their locations. When using Sudan as a case study in a longitudinal analysis, it is necessary to make some elaboration on the changes in power over time. This is important from an analytical point of view because the focus of this analysis aims to trace the changes that occurred according to the nature of power centers and according to their locations to grasp the dynamics of traditional leadership. For example, during the pre-colonialism period the centers of power and their locations were determined by factors related to the cultural beliefs of the community where the power centers were represented by spiritual leaders and the communities of the Sufis organization. Then, briefly before and during colonialism, the colonial regime itself, plus other social and economic factors, dictated changes on the nature of traditional leaders and their roles to incorporate more explicit and strong political missions. During the post-colonial era a shift is noticed in quality toward greater organization by the appearance of political parties and other organized entities. The beginning of the

configurations of urban versus rural appears, where traditional communities generally correspond with rural, whereas urban corresponds with the central authority and the centers of economic power. This shift occurs gradually during colonialism and blurs the power centers and boundaries between rural versus urban. These shifts were unobservable at the time, like any other historical process and, to great extent, they pertain to the use of current analytical tools rather than to actual geographic or palpable structural changes. Thus, the post-colonial analysis deals intensively with rural-urban discrepancies as a result of the historical process of shift of power quality and its concentration at the center of the political system.

Moreover, I use the traditional leaders' role and their integration in democratization to explain levels of public participation. The traditional leadership indicates the customary institutions or structures, or customary systems or procedures of influence, consultation, or rule, recognized, utilized or practiced by traditional communities. Accordingly, the traditional leader indicates any person who, in terms of customary law of the traditional community concerned, holds a traditional leadership position, and exerts authority on his/her community. Traditional leaders include tribal chiefs, spiritual leaders, healers, etc. Tribal chiefs are responsible for handling communal issues to solve disputes, manage economic activities, and make other public decisions that concern the people of their community. Spiritual leaders are persons who are believed to have spiritual power, and ability to predict events and heal sickness. They are usually consulted regarding issues such as marriage, sickness, collective seasonal movement, and war.

Popular participation is the act of engagement in activities and organizations that benefit the local or national community. It also includes efforts to place demands on the central authority to elicit directional change. It includes organizations set up to achieve collective good for the community, such as local committees and civil society institutions that seek to influence the government or the central authority to provide public good for the local communities. The outcomes of these civil society institutions are specified in terms such as conflict resolution, participation in policy making, public service, resource management, and security. For example, traditional communities establish local committees that represent them socially and culturally to plan the seasonal distribution of land and water

resources. They also establish committees or institutions to solve disputes and problems that may lead to a wider conflict. Moreover, they build organized entities that channel local demands and concerns to governmental authorities at the regional or national level. These local organized bodies are also expected to contribute to policy making via consultation mechanisms. The organized bodies also have the responsibility of linking the local community with the national level through cultural programs and education. This strengthens the sense of national identity and common purpose of the country.



## **CHAPTER 4. CHRONOLOGICAL STUDY**

This chapter traces the role of traditional leaders in Sudan from pre-colonialism to the present. I will explore traditional leaders' sources of legitimacy, their achievements, and the social organization of their communities. I will also examine the attitude of the central authority and how it impacts the role of traditional leaders and their relationship with their communities.

### **Historical Background**

According to the archeological evidence, the history of Sudan began during the Paleolithic era. Three eras of civilizations, also known as the three groups of civilizations, emerged from an ancient pastoral culture that had flourished in Sudan since approximately 7500 B.C., when the first human settlements were established. These three groups gave way to the Kerma civilization. The Kush kingdom emerged about 3500 B.C. Around 590 B.C., the capital of Kush was moved from Napata to Meroe, where inscriptions in Meroitic language became more common and elements of the Kush culture became more apparent. Archeological investigations attest to African or Sudanese traditions, such as religious beliefs and customs, a matrilineal succession of power, and the importance of the female position of Candace, or queen mother (Khalid, 1990). Throughout the reign of the Kush kingdom, there was institutional exchange and influence between Kush and Egyptian tradition, where each ruled the other for a period of time (Panafrican News Agency, 2004). The downfall of the Kush kingdom occurred about 330 A.D., when the Ethiopian Kingdom of Aksum emerged. The demise of the Kush civilization led to a decentralization of power in Sudan, which resulted in a number of kingdoms: Nubia, Maqarra, and Alwa.

The most southern of the kingdoms that succeeded Kush civilization was Alwa, the Islamized kingdom, which survived the longest until it was replaced by the Funj sultanate in the 16th century. Alwa's leader, Abdalla Jamma, defeated the Nubian and Maqarra Christian kingdoms in the north and established the first semi-centralized Muslim authority in northern Sudan. The penetration of Sudan by Islam occurred by Arab traders and immigrants. Unlike the introduction of Islam in North Africa, in Sudan, the conversion to Islam occurred gradually over a long time and as a complicated process. This gradual and complex process

was manifested as the result of compromise and mutual exchange between the local culture and Islam as well as the Arab culture. This resulted in a popular version of Islam that was woven into the fabric of indigenous tradition, which both affected and was affected by Islam. The penetration of Islam altered power relationships in subsequent years until it culminated in the establishment of the Funj and Fur sultanates in the 16th and 17th century, respectively, replacing Alwa in central Sudan. Trade with Egypt and Arabia was one of the major economic activities in Sudan. This provided Arab traders, and their language and religion, an opportunity to influence the people. At the same time, to enhance their trade relations, the Arab traders adopted local customs and traditions and intermarried with the local people. This mutual interaction led to the Arabization of the local people and indigenization of the Arabs, and resulted in maintaining the local traditions of governance of the Funj sultanate (Khalid, 1990).

### **Pre-colonialism**

#### **Funj Sultanate**

The Funj sultanate emerged in the 16th century as a powerful Islamized sultanate, replacing Alwa and expanding over the Nile valley, and to the present western border of Sudan with Chad. Islam remained the religion of elites who had access to trade and power. Then it spread broadly throughout the wide networks of religious scholars and leaders of the Sufi brotherhoods from North Africa, Iraq, and Arabia/Hejaz (Sidahmed, 2005). By the establishment of the first mosque in Sennar, the capital of the Funj sultanate along the Blue Nile, a majority of religious pundits started to emerge from the local people. This sowed the first traditional elitist segment in central Sudan. The religious pundits were traders who received endowments from the rulers, which enabled them to accumulate a relatively great wealth. Their wealth, In addition to their ascetic life, which was motivated by the Sufi teachings, enabled the religious pundits to support their followers and maintain their allegiance. The religious leaders eventually became mediators between the rulers and the masses, which gave them tremendous political leverage over both the masses and the rulers (Khalid, 1990). The spread of religious schools and the rise of religious centers around prominent leaders and their decedents characterized this era in the Sudan. Some schools and

education centers specialized in law and philosophy whereas others specialized in religion, attracting students throughout Sudan (Warburg, 1979). However, there was no central educational or coordinating body among these schools.

To relate this narrative in relation to my theory, the rule of the Funj was centralized only in name because religious and tribal centers maintained their autonomy and exerted leverage over the public and the rulers. The leaders of these centers acquired their influence and legitimacy from their spiritual position as religious scholars who had mystical powers, and also from their blood lines as descendants of holy men. They also maintained their power through their wealth which was used to provide economical support to their followers. Additionally, some traditional leaders were also healers through their spiritual power, as well as social councilors who solved problems and mediated disputes. These traits endowed those leaders with significant political and social influence over their communities. The religious and social organizations of these communities resembled a sort of traditional institutional design based on the socio-cultural features of the communities led by traditional leaders. Of particular importance is the significance of these leaders as mediators between the masses and the rulers which represented a type of integration in the governance system. Traditional leaders channeled the masses' positions and interests while inducting the rulers' power and influence to the masses. Moreover, at their local domains, they symbolized several socio-political authorities. They represented the legislative where they offered fatwa and sanctioned rules. They also represented the judiciary who solved disputes, and represented the executive where they provided economic aid and social support. The importance of the leaders' authority to this analysis is the fact that they did not only follow along a vertical path from the traditional leaders to their followers. Rather, there were also horizontal levels of influence where the leaders facilitated and encouraged the communal activities in terms of social and economic support of individuals and families to each other and their community. Although this type of support remains a distinctive characteristic of the Sudanese culture to date, traditional leaders apparently exerted a lot of influence to emphasize its importance. Evidence is apparent in the rich account of poetry and proverbs of wisdom spelled out by these leaders. Thus, traditional leaders emerged as the represented centers of power around

which several aspects of socio-political life of the community orbited. Traditional leaders represented a stabilizing force while stirring and facilitating communal activities.

### **Fur Sultanate**

The Fur sultanate in the western parts of Sudan emerged during the 17th century from Daju and Tunjur kingdom which ruled the region from the 13th – 16th century. It expanded westward to the borders of present day Chad, and eastward to the White Nile at the expense of the Funj kingdom. The Fur state was an Islamic non-Arab Sudanese kingdom, which united and ruled the Fur and non-Fur peoples around the Marra Mountains and governed the present day provinces of Kordofan and Darfur (Sidahmed, 2005). As in the Funj sultanate, a compromise between the Arab/Islamic and local cultures enabled the success of the state while not suppressing local cultural characteristics. For example, the system of succession of power was matrilineal, wherein every ruler was followed by his nephew from his sister's side. Although the system of law was theoretically based on Islamic law, customary law codified by Sultan Dalli was maintained in practice. The taxation system combined both Islamic and traditional customary systems. However, Islamic taxes were provided to the central state whereas traditional taxes were given to informal holders of localities. On the administrative level, the Fur provincial estates were formally endowed to the royal family members and to the tribal chiefs; nevertheless, informally, the administration of local justice was left to local chiefs and religious notables (Khalid, 1990). [don't start "but" "so" "also"]

It is important to note that active trade with Egypt and Hejaz was of significant importance wherein it was organized and protected by the central state. This motivated the rulers to apportion economic and political power between the governing elites appointed by them, as well as the local traditional religious and tribal elites. However, over time, the religious elites gained prominence over all (Khalid, 1990). The rulers of the Fur kingdom encouraged the immigration of merchants, religious men, and Sufi leaders from the northern and central parts of Sudan, and established educational and religious centers (Sidahmed, 2005). Thus, although the general process of interaction between Islam and the Arab culture occurred similarly in the Funj and Fur kingdoms, there was more encouragement and coordination from the central state in the Fur kingdom. This provided the traditional elites in the Fur kingdom with a more powerful and acknowledged position in socio-political realms.

The powerful status of these elites and their legitimacy, which enhanced their influence, were products woven by a complex socio-cultural reality among educators, tribal chiefs, mediators, and religious scholarly and community preachers in addition to their economic capabilities.

The traditional rural elites and leading families of the Sufis movement acquired a more significant political platform after the collapse of the central Fur state. This significant platform was indicative of, and facilitated by, a great level of autonomy and independence among the traditional elites and their communities maintained under the central state. The traditional elites developed into a formidable political oligarchy not only because of their religious and political power, but also because of their economic capabilities wherein they formed religious and community centers. Like the community centers in northern and central Sudan, the community centers in the Fur kingdom resembled institutions organized based on the socio-cultural traits of the region. They were led by traditional elites who conveyed spiritual, economic, and political powers. The legitimacy of the traditional elites was based on their positions as scholars and educators of the public, their mystical powers, and their economic capabilities. This offered the traditional elites a political and social leverage over their rulers as well as their local communities. Because of this leverage, they politically linked the central rulers with their masses through the application of justice, and the taxation and trade system. It is plausible to consider this as form of integration in the governance system of the central state. Moreover, like their counterparts in central and northern Sudan, the traditional elites preached and encouraged the public to support one another and work for their communities. They established centers for education, charities, and public service wherein the members of their communities received education, worked to support the needy, and served the center itself. Among others, the most effective medium of communication, to educate the people and encourage them to do good for their communities, was their poetry. The poetry contained educational elements and instructive components which was ascetic and enabled the wellbeing of the community. The achievements of these centers are seen in educational service, economic aid, social counseling and support, solving disputes, mobilizing the community, and leverage over the rulers regarding issues such as trade and taxation.

Therefore, one can infer that the traditional elites in both the Funj and Fur kingdoms enjoyed a significantly powerful position in the state governance system. Their legitimacy was driven by their spiritual, social and economic power. They served as a link between the rulers and the masses where they channeled public interest regarding issues such as trade and taxation. They also communicated the power and interests of the rulers to the public regarding events of taxation and war, when necessary. They also established centers where they educated people, offered economic aid, provided social counseling and support, solved disputes, and preached to the public as they carried out their work for their communities. It is important to note that the centers were organized based on socio-cultural elements of the region, and joining them was voluntary without any coercive urging. It was well known that individuals chose a brotherhood or center they liked according to its teachings, instruction, and general ideology. It was also well known that the ethnic and historical background of individuals contributed to these decisions, but joining and leaving a brotherhood or a center was a free, voluntarily choice. This indicates the flexibility and liberty ascribed to these communities which were ingrained in their socio-cultural system. The centers also provided a platform where the people volunteered to serve. The traditional elites used poetry and proverbs as the most effective tools to communicate their messages to the public. This socio-cultural organization manifested a sort of integration of traditional elites in the governance system under a central state where the public and center state formed a link while playing a powerful role towards the wellbeing of local communities. Thus, it can be surmized that traditional leaders contributed significantly to the stability of the state while maintaining the socio-cultural and socio-economic stability of society. In light of my theory, the role of the traditional leaders was effective in this manner because it was legitimated by the socio-cultural values of the community. Traditional leadership was an extension of the socio-cultural system, both playing a role to maintain it and supported by it.

### **Southern Sudan**

The southern part of Sudan witnessed a different development than the north did. Its geographic nature contributed to its relative isolation, whereby the mountains and rivers formed barriers to the outside world. This resulted in maintaining a separate social and cultural identity where much of the region toward northern Uganda was inhabited by

speakers of the central Sudanic language during the first millennium A.D. Then Neolithic groups who were located in the southern parts expanded in the region. The focus of this research is on four of these groups because they represent large proportions of the southern Sudanese people who also represent two different, major socio-political structures—centralized political authority, represented by the Shulluk and Azandi, and non-centralized political authority represented by the Dinka and Nuer. The major group among these is the Dinka, which constitutes the single largest tribe in the south who settled in an area that corresponds to present day Bahr-Alghazal and the Upper Nile. The Dinka and Nuer tribes did not form centralized political institutions; rather, they were comprised of a cluster of groupings with common cultural characteristics (Sidahmed, 2005).

The Nuer and Dinka tribes had a similar socio-political organization. Their organizational structure was influenced by their environment and economic activities whereby they functioned in an intricate economy comprised of farming, pastoralism, fishing, and trade. Their cattle herds had a higher socio-cultural value than a mere economic resource. Their intricate economy required seasonal movement, living in scattered clusters, and occasionally leaving and joining different groups. The seasonal fluctuation of resources contracted their social ties wherein they shared their food, resources, and protected one another. There was no common political authority or central organization, and their organization was based on a lineage and an age system. The lineage system was comprised of clans, tribes and divisions where a certain clan could be located in any cluster or group within the nation as well as for the age set (Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, 1970). Their legal system and socio-political rules were upheld and applied by the elders without a permanent centralized individual authority. They combined for defense and offense whereby men of different ages and different groups comprised a unified front. “The Nuer *and the Dinka* [italics are mine] nations are highly individualistic and libertarian. It is acephalous state lacking legislative, judicial, and executive organs. Nevertheless, it is far from chaotic. It has a persistent and coherent form which might be called ‘ordered anarchy’ ” (Evans-Pritchard and Fortes, 1970:296). The absence of centralized government ... “is less remarkable than the absence of any persons who represent the unity and the exclusiveness of these groups” (Evans-Pritchard and Fortes, 1970:296).

The example of central organization appeared in the Shilluk and Azandi nations. On one hand, the Shilluk nation constituted a common territory, common language, and a central authority. The Shilluk people paid allegiance to an authority within an elaborate system of customs and traditions which informed the attitudes of the people, the exercise of power, and all other social relations. Their economic activities were comprised of activities of subsistence agriculture, breeding domestic animals, fishing, and some crop agriculture. The Shilluk kingdom was comprised of two principal political divisions [states]: the north and the south which were divided into 15 provinces, each under the administration of a paramount chief directly responsible to the Rāth, who was believed to be the incarnation of Nyikango and a sovereign combination of political, administrative, judicial and spiritual power. The chiefs of the south and north were the most senior positions and considered as front guards. The paramount chief had under his authority, village or clan chiefs. There were also chiefs with special functions, e.g. chiefs of the hippo were situated in the south, and the chief of Nile was in the north. In each province, a military commander emerged by virtue of his military prowess and valor, but he had no administrative functions or authority. [use nouns]

On the other hand, the Azandi tribe which settled in the western part of the south was comprised of other earlier groups, and led by a central political authority: the Azandi kingdom. The Azandi socio-political system was an intricate admixture of feudalism, traditional, political, and administrative authority as well as witchcraft, charms, etc. The Azandi chiefs were basically from the royal clan, and combined judicial and spiritual prowess.

For this analysis and application of this researcher's theory, it was deduced that the southern Sudanese nations differed in the fact that two tribes, the Dinka and the Nuer, did not constitute a central authority whereas two others, the Azandi and the Shilluk, did. Nevertheless, they had general features in common despite a difference in authority rule. First, they were dedicated to the wellbeing of their community while maintaining individual liberties. Second, they had a type of leadership represented by the distinguished chiefs of the Shilluk and Azandi, and the elders of the Dinka and Nuer. Third, their leadership was a variation of different traditional platforms: political, legal, administrative, and spiritual. Fourth, traditional leadership was established upon and maintained the socio-cultural system



which was influenced by the environment and its resources. Sixth, they communicated their values and passed their heritages through rich accounts comprised of fables, crafts, songs, and dance which were used in rituals and social ceremonies. These elements were the pillars for achieving socio-environmental equilibrium, harmonizing the group, and maintaining identity. Thus, the socio-cultural system in these communities influenced by environmental features produced a form of traditional leadership which supported and was maintained by it. Thus, traditional leadership was the stabilizing element of each tribe's livelihood legitimized by cultural beliefs, which placed it at the center of power of the community. The central authority in the case of the Azandi and the Shilluk is both permissive and constructive toward the chiefs since they all belonged to the same socio-cultural system.

### **Nuba Mountains**

The Nuba Mountains are located in the northern part of the southern Sudanese states. The Nuba were organized according to the principle of dual lineal descent where every member belonged to both a partri-clan and a matri-clan. This organizational principle was reflected in all social and economic aspects. The economy of the community was a complicated system that was interlocked in the social and political functions which interacted based on specific environmental traits. Nuba society was called a classless society because it did not recognize a paramount leader. Age was used to determine the main authority and prestige of individuals in the community. The elder's authority was without exerted power upon others to compel them. In other words, the elders did not govern society; rather, they administered their role as specialists of ritual affairs. When a decision needed to be made all the individuals present held a session and tried to reach consensus on the matter. Because it was hard to manage such a session comprised of a large number of individuals, the most expert individuals on the matter organized such a session only when necessary. The Nuba community constituted several elders' councils, in which each member had a specific specialization, such as peace specialist, honey specialist, rain specialist, grains specialist, and elephant specialist. Each member had a number of assistants.. The specializations were given to them according to their matri-clan or patri-clan membership. Moreover, the councils had rules of conduct, and members who violated the rules were punished by the community. The councils also received respect from the community through the way in which the community

members communicated with them and deferred to their decisions. It is noteworthy that the respect conveyed to the specialist originated from the belief that specialists belong to a divine source. The term specialist is represented by the word “sun”, or the source of life, and used when communicating with the members of the council.

To comprehend the Nuba society in light of the theory guiding this research, the Nuba society had a social organization that was based on a dual-lineal system. The Nuba community constituted councils of experts who managed political, economic, and cultural issues. These councils were comprised of individuals according to their age and expertise. The Nuba community sanctioned reciprocal rules of conduct deferred to the councils and to monitor their own conduct. Thus, the Nuba formed a type of institution based on the socio-cultural traits of their community which was shaped and influenced by environmental features. They managed their economic activities through social organizations/institutions which were comprised of individuals who drew their legitimacy from socio-cultural values represented by age, expertise, and the belief in a divine source of life. Through these socio-cultural institutions the Nuba managed their economy, settled disputes, achieved harmony, and maintained equilibrium within their socio-environmental system. The role of traditional elites was a positive constructive role that was organized within their institutions, in which traditional elites were given acknowledged positions and tasks.

When examining the various traditional communities of Sudan prior to colonialism, one must realize that the socio-cultural system, situated in the environmental features, was the basis of the socio-political organization of the communities. The legitimacy of this organization along with its leadership was driven by the socio-cultural values and norms of the community which maintained it and was maintained by it. The critical element that made traditional leadership effective in stabilizing the community and, in the cases of religious and education centers, promoted the people for the collective good of the community. Additionally, in the case of power centers in the Funj and Fur kingdoms, a permissive central state enabled a more influential role of traditional leaders within their communities. Traditional leadership was a formidable element of the society indicating a socio-culturally driven legitimacy. Thus, the study of pre-colonism revealed that traditional leaders were powerful sources of socio-political influence.

## **Colonialism**

### **Turco-Egyptian Rule**

Until the Turco-Egyptian conquest of Sudan in 1821, there was no truly orthodox Islamic authority with universal recognition in Sudan. The fact that the process of Islamization occurred gradually over several centuries, and was conducted by the Sudanese themselves, gave Sudanese Islam its distinctive characteristics and profoundly impacted the role of Islam in the life and politics of modern Sudan (Khalid, 1990:30). By the time of the invasion of the Ottoman Empire, the central authority of the Funj kingdom was encountering divisions that weakened it which resulted in surrender without resistance. The conquest of Sudan by the Ottoman Empire resulted in important repercussions for Sudan. The repercussion of concern to this research was the altering of power relations of the local religious and traditional elites to the central authority. Justification for the conquest was to bring Sudan to the lawful ruler of the Muslim world: the Ottoman emperor.

Consequently, three learned men from Al-Azhar accompanied the first expedition to form an orthodox Islamic state in Sudan. Indeed, there was huge gap between the orthodox official religion of the new conquerors and the faith of the Sudanese people. This call for orthodox Islam threatened to undermine the influence of the established traditional leaders of the Sufi brotherhoods and their centers in the communities. The Turks lifted the taxation exemptions and eliminated the economic relation of the traditional elites with the central authorities that was maintained by the Funj and Fur kingdoms (Khalid, 1990). The central state of Turk rule attempted to subvert the traditional elites to adopt their perspective through a centrally organized school system that replaced the educational centers of the traditional elites. The Turks also tried to establish Shari' courts but their attempts failed. When the Turks realized that they could not rule the country without the involvement of the traditional elites they appointed chiefs to some local communities without executive responsibilities. In addition to the chiefs, the Turks also appointed officers to collect taxes. The traditional leaders who co-opted with the Ottoman rule gained economically and politically, and were used in wars against reluctant leaders (Warburg, 1979).

Turkish rule against the traditional elites not only excluded traditional elites from the governance system, but also created conflict between the central authorities and those elites.

Further, these moves triggered competition and conflict between the traditional elites themselves. Another significant change that occurred due to these moves was that membership to a larger order or brotherhood became more than swearing allegiance, and did not involve spiritual initiation. This was because, for the elites, membership became more than a matter of devotion; rather, it ensured them a political platform. The exclusion of traditional elites from central Ottoman rule in Sudan not only created hostility between the central authority and the traditional elites, but also transmitted this hostility to the public, and diminished their popular participation and identification with the state. This was manifested in popular resistance and reluctance to pay taxes, and incited rebellion against the state in 1822 (Khalid, 1990).

To relate this narrative to the theoretical framework of this research, it can be inferred that a change transpired in the relationship between the traditional elites and their communities, and the resulting competition between them is very insightful from the point of this analysis. This is because it pinpoints one of the parameters that helped to maintain the positive functions of the traditional elites and the cohesion of traditional communities. In particular, this parameter involved a universal system of governance that assures the positions and roles of traditional leaders to play a positive role in their community and, thereby, the state. When the assurance and recognition became endangered, it triggered a fundamental change in how the leaders perceived their roles towards their communities. Their focus shifted to a defensive strategy of recruitment of members and polarization of the population. This leads this researcher to posit that integrating traditional elites in a universal system of governance, and recognizing their positive role and position obviates the divisiveness of society and prevents hostile interaction between communal groups. Thus, the integration of traditional leaders would facilitate their positive contribution to their local communities and contribute to the stability of the state. Any attempt to guarantee people's loyalty by imposing appointed traditional leaders is doomed to a failure. Further, it validates this researcher's proposition that the attitude of the central authority toward the traditional leadership is a critical determinant of their roles in their communities and in the state. When the central authority's attitude was negative toward the traditional leadership, it triggered hostility and a potentially exploitive relationship with their followers.

Central to this argument is that the source of the threat presented by the Ottoman rule to those elites and their communities was of multiple aspects that highlight the components of the traditional structure and leadership. It also supports this researcher's premises that traditional communities need to be dealt with as complex whole of interconnected parts. First, the attempts of the central state to promote orthodox Islam threatened the belief system of the elites and their communities, which represented a way of denying the existing worldview and attempting to impose a foreign one. Second, imposing a foreign system of taxation instead of the traditional one, as well as removing economic privileges of the elites' undermined their organizations and socio-economic support they provided to their followers. This was demonstrated by the outcome of imposing a foreign system of taxes that destabilized the existing socio-economic system. Third, deeming the traditional elites' spiritual and religious practices as unrighteous endangered their appeal and social prestige. That was threat to the legitimacy of the leadership and denigration for their belief system. Fourth, excluding the traditional elites from the central governance system eliminated their political leverage as mediators between the central authority and their local communities. Fifth, attempts to manipulate local communities' loyalty by appointing traditional chiefs desecrated the ground upon which this loyalty was built and resulted in conflict and failure.

Therefore, one can argue that, to assess and analyze the traditional communities and the role of the traditional elites, one should tackle them as a whole of inseparable parts. It is important to recognize and acknowledge the multiple aspects that contribute to the cohesiveness of communities and the role played by their leaders. Analyzing these communities primarily from a "power relations" point of view results in an incomplete and impaired analysis. This is apparent regarding the concentrated focus of analysis on constitutional and government-level arrangements regarding making assessments and recommendations of fledgling democracies. By the same token, evaluation based solely on an economic approach leads to misleading conclusions as it reveals total growth of the state and national income without consideration of traditional livelihoods and local socio-economic systems. This is apparent in theories that make decisive linkages between democracy and open global economies. Therefore, the elements of the analysis must consider the intricate web of social, economic, political, cultural, environmental, and spiritual factors that interact

to produce the phenomenon of traditional elites in their communities. Next, traditional elites need to be situated in a universal context of the governance system of the state and assessed based on their interactive relationship and the central authority.

### **Mahdiyya 1881-1898**

Mohammad Ahmad Al-Mahdi is known as the father of nationalism in Sudan because he unified the country for the first time. His spiritual appeal, organizational skills, and charisma enabled him to bring the population under one ideation. He managed to overcome tribal and religious groupings by instituting the Mahdist movement. During the overwhelmingly unpopular Turkish rule, the people considered the religious elites as their central political voice. Therefore, the Mahdist movement was considered a further politico-religious development (Khalid, 1990). Al-Mahdi understood the centers of power of Sudanese society during the time, which were based on tribal and spiritual elements. After gaining support of the northern and central communities, al-Mahdi succeeded in Kordofan and Dar Fur in the west, the Nuba Mountains in the southern west, and the Beja tribes in the east. The success of al-Mahdi was attributed to the fact that he understood that he could not influence the people of Sudan without the support of traditional elites as represented in Sufis movement and the tribal chiefs,. Therefore, Al-Mahdi sent the traditional elites letters inviting them explicitly to join his movement. This indicates that Al-Mahdi did not attempt, at that stage, to impose a singular focus of authority. He was, rather, willing to accept the traditional elites as centers of power (Warburg, 1979).

The defeat al-Mahdi committed on the Turkish rule in several battles gave him more attractiveness and appeal among the Sudanese population. The traditional elites who were favored by the Turkish rule were reluctant to join the uprising of the Mahdiyya movement, and some of them fled to Egypt. Furthermore, AlMahdi organized the army for the movement according to cultural divisions of the Sudanese society; although each grouping had a leader with a banner, all worked under the Mahdiyya revolution banner. The Mahdiyya army defeated General Gordon and captured the capital of Khartoum, putting an end to Turkish rule in Sudan. The Mahdist movement's defeat of the Turks culminated in the establishment of the Mahdist State under A-Mahdi rule with its capital in Omdurman. After

the death of A-Mahdi, Caliph Abd Allah ruled until he was killed in the battle against the British conquerors (Khalid, 1990).

It is important in this analysis to note that A-Mahdi called for an Islamic faith that follows the Sunna: the same call of the Turkish rulers. The entire country was brought under one central rule, with “Ameers” (Princes) representing every part of Sudan. Thus, A-Mahdi succeeded where the Turks had failed. The strongest indication of success was that the higher judicial power was in the hands of the ruler, Abdu Allah, who became Al-Mahdi’s successor. Thus, one can assert that the fact that Al-Mahdi succeeded in convincing the population, building a national movement, and bringing the people under one central state can be attributed to his recognition of the existing traditional elites as centers of power. Al-Mahdi did not deem the traditional elites as unrighteous and exclude them from his movement as the Turks had done. Al-Mahdi did not try to undermine the traditional elites’ authorities, at least during the first stages of the movement. Rather, he acknowledged their positions and roles, sent them letters inviting them to join the national movement, and gave them tasks to serve in the movement. Al-Mahdi’s approach to the traditional leaders resulted in the massive and unprecedented success of his movement which dethroned the Turkish rule and built the Mahdiyya state. This attests that integrating the traditional elites in a national system, in this case the movement, promotes their positive roles and increases popular participation. It is also important to acknowledge that the great influence Al-Mahdi had on the Sudanese people was attributed to his spiritual appeal, political astuteness, and organizational skills. This attests that the type of legitimacy is critical to appeal to traditional communities where the people can acknowledge and identify with it.

### **Anglo-Egyptian Rule**

After defeating the Mahdiyya army and killing Abdu Allah in Um Debekrat, the British put an end to the Mahdiyya state and established their own government in Sudan, and moved the capital back to Khartoum. Their major focus from that time until World War I was on repressing the various forms of resistance they encountered. During that period many traditional leaders were executed and numerous uprisings were decimated. The British considered the poor performance of the Egyptians during Turkish rule as the cause of the Mahdiyya revolt. Therefore, the administration offices were filled by British officers. To

further limit the role of the Egyptians, they needed the support of the Sudanese (Khalid, 1990). Hence, they tried to foster indigenous leadership which would gradually assume lower positions in administration. However, because most of the indigenous leaders were supporters of the Mahdiyya revolt, the British viewed them with suspicion and tried to nurture new leaders. They established a board to advise the government on religious issues but it did not have influence on the government's policies or on the people. The British also established local tribal leaders who worked as inspectors for the British government whom local communities despised and, therefore, did not influence the people (Warburg, 1979).

Central to this discussion is the evolution of two leaders, Sayyid Ali and Sayyid Abdu Alrahman, because of their leadership type—traditional leadership—and because of their substantial influence on Sudanese politics. Sayyid Ali, who was an ally of the Turkish rule, fled to Egypt during the Mahdiyya revolt but returned after the British established rule. During his stay in Egypt Sayyid Ali strengthened his relationship with Sir Reginald Wingate who later became the governor of Sudan, as well as other high ranking British officials. When he returned, Sayyid Ali was treated as the utmost religious leader because the British realized that they needed popular support of the Sudanese. Because Sayyid Ali was a strong opponent of Egyptian involvement in Sudan, he resonated with the segments of Sudanese who had experienced Turco-Egyptian rule or were still espousing the anti-Turkish (Egyptian) ideology of the Mahdist state (Khalid, 1990).

The other traditional leader, Sayyid Abdu Alrahman, Al Mahdi's son, was young when two of his brothers were killed, and the rest of his family was arrested by the British and exiled. Later, he visited Aba Island the cradle of Mahdiyya movement, and decided to revive his ties with his father's supporters. He intended to make Aba Island the spiritual, social, and economic center of his movement. However, Abdu Alrahman and his family were treated with suspicion by the British, and their movement was restricted until they were given permission to return to Omdurman, although under constant British surveillance. Later, he was allowed to cultivate his family's estates, henceforth, the Mahdists' movement was reborn again as a religious-political movement (Warburg, 2003). A large influx of followers and supporters moved to the Mahdist center, some of whom worked in the fertile lands. Besides the financial benefits reaped from land cultivation, the revived movement was financed by



what was called “sadaqa”, or a voluntary tax given to a social or charitable cause (Warburg, 1979).

The outbreak of World War I necessitated mobilizing support against the Turkish pan-Islamic propaganda. A critical part of that process was eliminating Egypt's influence in Sudan because of her anticipated independence. To achieve that, the British resorted to the Mahdists because of their vehement anti-Egyptian sentiment. Therefore, Abdu Alrahman was permitted to emerge and mobilize his followers freely. He took advantage of that and, to consolidate his religious and political power with economic strength; he expanded his agricultural schemes during the war. With the mounting Egyptian nationalist influence in Sudan, the British recruited all Sudanese traditional leaders to condemn Egyptian involvement and confirm loyalty to the British. The Governor-General decided to send a delegation of Sudanese traditional leaders to London to express that sentiment. The delegation included Sayyid Ali and Sayyid Abdu Alrahman, leaders of other Sufis, and chiefs of tribal communities. Sayyid Abdu Alrahman expressed that the cooperation with the British rule was dedicated by the political reality of eradicating Egyptian influence and interest and, consequently, assuming full independence from the British (Warburg, 1979:26). And by meeting with the British king in London, Sayyid Abdu Alrahman exalted his position and his popular movement, from being considered by the British as fanatic movement, to a national representative of Sudanese people. This enabled him to openly preach and address the public without fearing repercussions from the British authorities (Warburg, 1979). Moreover, Sayyid Abdu Alrahman formed an alliance with certain sections of young Sudanese intelligentsia and helped them to found the graduates' club and also helped establishing the first Sudanese newspaper. The editor of that paper, with Sayyid Abdu Alrahman's support, became the first outspoken agent of “The Sudan for the Sudanese” movement of the younger generations.

After the removal of Egyptian elements from the British rule in Sudan, Sayyid Abdu Alrahman emerged with well-organized movement, enjoyed the adherence of leading members of the young intelligentsia, possessed financial means for further ambitions, and had substantial political influence. Despite the existence of other local traditional groupings, Sayyid Abdu Alrahman's and Sayyid Ali's groupings emerged as the only widely popular

movements. The British tried to foster direct “native administration” with the tribal population using appointed tribal chiefs. This attempt aimed at limiting the influence of the two Sayyids because their help was no longer needed after the war and after removing the Egyptians. But the impact of that attempt was heavier on Sayyid Abdu Alrahman the British feared the rise of the Mahdists and viewed him and his followers with suspicion. With the growing numbers of Sayyid Abdu Alrahman’s followers who gathered in his center on certain times of the year and following a mass demonstration on Aba Island, the center of the movement, the British ordered them to stop their activities and to disband their organizations. That order was followed by eliminating those followers from the Sudan Defense Forces. Then, a new policy, launched by Sir John Maffey, was to economically bind Sayyid Abdu Alrahman with the government believing that allowing his followers to cultivate their land would keep them busy from engaging in political activities. The result of that policy was the opposite of its purpose. The Sayyid and his followers expanded their agricultural schemes and thereby strengthened their economic status. The followers were seeking spiritual guidance; the Sayyid was promoting the Mahdist political mission, and supplied their material needs (Warburg, 1979).

It is important for our analysis to note in this narrative that the Mahdist movement included three segments of the Sudanese population. The first was the tribal supporters who believed in his spiritual and religious power and who were following their Sufism sentiment. The second segment was the sophisticated tribal chiefs and population. And within this segment the policy of the “native administration” was intended to hit him the hardest, but he was shrewd enough to attract them to his side instead of hindering them. For instance, he supported them in their disputes with the authorities over taxation and treated them with generosity. Then, later after he guaranteed their side, he managed to mobilize them for the “The Sudan for Sudanese” movement; the same posture he fostered with the Sufis. Additionally, he realized that without the involvement of other local traditional groups he could not fight his political battles. Therefore, he played significant role in solving leadership disputes, mediated land disputes, gave financial aid to their activities, and send agents to win their loyalties. The third segment was the inhabitants of the towns and among them the educated Sudanese and government officials whom he won their confidence at the political,

rather than the religious, level. Therefore, he adopted the graduates' political activities and engaged in their political debates. What encouraged his engagement more was the fact that the British intended to hinder the development of the intelligentsia and promote the "native administration" by promoting only technical education a fact gave him common ground with the young educated people. For example, he strengthened his relation with the Omdurman's Graduates' Club and adopted their meetings and debates. The outcomes of this movement, for example, were the protests and demonstrations of students and young Sudanese officials and the college students strike in 1931.

In addition, the Mahdists established a printing house and founded Sudanese newspapers, thereby; they were able to publish the intelligentsia's political thought. Furthermore, many factors made the British open to establishing a new intelligentsia organization: the Graduates' Congress in 1938. The factor that concerns us here is that the British realized that the "native administration" and the tribal organization had fundamentally influenced by the Mahdist movement and therefore fostering an antidote for the popular movements was sought within the educated class. As a result of participation in many political events and debates, the Graduates' Congress appeared in the Sudanese political scene. Although the Congress was intended to eliminate the sectarian politics of the two Sayyids, its survival without their involvement was impossible. That is because the only national publishing house and the news papers were owned by Sayyid Abdu Alrahman and other news papers was owned by Sayyid Ali. Additionally, Congress demanded to broadcast in the radio and their request was refused by the authorities, instead, they were invited individually to broadcast therefore they collectively boycotted the government's broadcasts on Sudanese culture unless they were allowed in the Congress's name. This incident made Congress turn into a political assembly and called for forming a national front composed of the followers of the two Sayyids, the tribal leaders, and the urban notables using Sayyid Abdu Alrahman news paper for its publications. The objective was to bring all of them into an open relation with the Congress and earn their political support. By this, the elections of the congress resulted in the domination of Sayyid Abdu Alrahman's followers. Subsequently, there was obvious success of the Congress's activities. For example, they organized education days in which they raised fund for non-governmental schools and they succeeded,

for that matter, massively among all Sudanese sectors. Another significant achievement was that the government allowed them to broadcast on cultural affairs. This proved that the Congress with the support of the Sayyid could do better social work.

By the mid 1940s and following many divisions, the Graduates' Congress ceased to play significant political role and gave way to the two major political parties in which the traditional leaders, along with the two Sayyids, were influential. Also, an advisory council was founded by the government to foster local administration in which the traditional leaders were predominant. This led to a shift in the political weight from the capital to the rural areas.

Moreover, in 1946 when the British were negotiating with the Egyptians the future of Sudan and one of the proposals is to be under Egypt's sovereignty, Sayyid Abdu Alrahman and his followers set up the "Independence Front" and organized massive demonstrations against the proposal in all Sudanese towns (Warburg, 1979). Additionally, an uprising against the British government occurred in Tuti Island led to an expansion in political influence of Sayyid Ali among the Sufis order. To bring the Sudanese people under one front to work for the independence, Sayyid Abdu Alrahman invited the graduates' leaders, the members of the advisory council, and the traditional leaders for a meeting. They agreed to discuss the proposal of working together under one entity for Sudan's independence without being identified with any of the Sayyids. They agreed on establishing a new independent newspaper. This paved the way for establishing the Umma Political Party. To break the party apart the British exerted a lot of effort. They founded what they called "the Socialist Republican Party" and proposed to the tribal chiefs and village notables to leave the Umma party and represent the rural population themselves. This attempt failed and those who joined the new party returned to the Umma party because of their socio-cultural and historical ties with its leaders and followers. That was followed by forming the Legislative Assembly in 1948 at the Sudan Administration Conference. One of the proposals in that assembly was that the tribal chiefs should stand for elections as representative of the rural population. Although this point was opposed by some leaders, Sayyid Abdu Alrahman promoted it and stressed that it was a framework in which all the political parties and religious circles of Sudan

conferred together, thus, the British cannot instigate divisions between religious leaders and tribal chiefs or between traditional leaders and the educated class (Khalid, 1990).

Additionally, when the issue of Sudan's status in regards to Egypt came into play and an agreement was signed between Egypt and Britain there was ferocious opposition among Sudanese people for any kind of affiliation with Egypt despite Egyptian efforts to do otherwise. During the negotiations Sayyid Ali published a manifesto in which he proposed that all Sudanese parties should support a referendum to determine the future of the country together. This proposal was discussed in the Sudanese parliament and was carried by a decisive majority. Sayyid Abdu Alrahman added that the future of Sudan was already agreed upon: independence. The referendum, therefore, should be about the form of government after independence. Sayyid Abdu Alrahman and his followers were strongly opposing any definition strengthened the Egyptian king upon Sudan. Sayyid Abdu Alrahman repeatedly stated that this would be an end of Sudanese nationalism, independence, and sovereignty. Then, after organizing massive demonstrations in all Sudanese towns, he sent a telegram to Clement Attlee, the Prime Minister of Britain, and to Sidqi Pasha, the Prime Minister of Egypt, asking them to meet with them. Attlee remarked that a deal was sealed with Egypt asking the Sayyid and the delegation where they had been all the time. The Sayyid responded articulately that Britain had eliminated the Sudanese from any negotiations that concerned their future since 1899 and they would not take the blame or accept to exchange a foreign rule with another one and they were willing to fight for independence if necessary. It was claimed that Sayyid Abdu Alrahman won the talk with Attlee and the negotiation shelved the agreement between Egypt and Britain to give the right to Egypt to rule Sudan. In 1952 Sayyid visited London again and negotiated with Anthony Eden, the British Foreign Secretary, who advised him to talk to Egyptians. Then in 1953 an agreement was ratified between Sudanese Umma party and the Egyptian government granting Sudan the right of self-determination and government formation within three years. This included the departure of all Egyptian and British military forces (Warburg, 1979).

The general elections to the Sudanese parliament took place in 1953. The opening ceremony of Sudanese parliament was held on March 1954 and witnessed massive demonstration of Umma party and Mahdists against the proposed Egyptian rule on Sudan. In

1955 the Sudanese parliament asked Egypt and Britain to recognize Sudan's independence and formed a committee of five to request Egypt refused claiming that since Britain was still there they would not recognize Sudan's independence. That request was publicly supported by organizations such as Students' Union, Federation of Trade Unions, and Jazira Cotton Growers' Association. With all this pressure the British General resigned from Sudan, the committee of five took over all his power before Britain assigns a new Governor-General. In January 1956, Sudan was declared an independent state.

On the other hand, south Sudan received different treatment from the colonial rule and the unfolding of political events in both the south and the Nuba Mountain took different manifestation. For the people of the south and the Nuba Mountain maintained vicious resistance to any attempt to impose a foreign culture on them. For example, Evans Pritchard testified that the Nuer people of the south considered the British "cattleless beggars" and openly disrespected them (Evans-Pritchard, as cited in Khalid, 1990). On the other hand, the British conveyed extremely racist attitude and considered their relation with the southerners as a "civilizing mission" to teach them "elements of common sense, good behavior, and obedience to a central authority" as indicated by Lord Cromer (Khalid, 1990:47). On the administration level, the British adopted what was called "Southern Policy" which separated the south from the rest of the country economically and culturally. The south was subjected to influx of Christian missionaries, imposing English as language of communication, communication with the rest of the country was prevented, northern names and traditional dress were prohibited, Arabic was prohibited, the traders were stopped from moving to and from the south, the movement was restricted by the Passports and Permits Ordinance, and private and public development projects were hindered claiming the unpreparedness of the region to them. This all resulted in a south as a "close zone". Also, the British adopted the indirect rule where they appointed chiefs and dismissed them according to their loyalty to their regime. They also established courts to use their codes instead of the indigenous rules of judgment. Additionally, they raided cattle to collect taxes and forced people to work without payment. They also monopolized ivory trade which had been an important source of income for the native people (Lesch, 1998).

Therefore, it took long time before the people in these areas formed any form of solid relation with colonial regime. And there was steady resistance from the time of the conquest at least up to 1930. That was because leaders led local and uncoordinated efforts to resist the foreign rule. For instance, in 1905 the Dinka led by a member of their community attacked and killed the British officer in Rumbek, in 1905 the Azandi community demonstrated an uprising, and from 1907 to 1921 the Dinka consistently disturbed the British in the area. Also, in 1919, the Dinka rebelled and killed the Governor of Mangala. Also, led by the spiritual leader, the Nuer rebellion was brought to an end only in 1930. Therefore, it has been noticed that the British used brutal force in the region in order to forge a policy of control (Khalid, 1990). Moreover, when the advisory council was formed in 1944 by the British, all its members were from the north where the unity of the country was insisted on without any consultation from the south. Also, after a mounting criticism, the British agreed to hold a conference in Juba, a southern town, where the British selected all the southern representatives who were in their payroll, appointed chiefs, or junior police officials. Some of those chiefs demanded improved quality of education and development and gradual resumption in south-north activities. Consequently, on the following year the travel and trade restrictions were cancelled (Lesch, 1998). In 1955, when the issue of Sudan's future was raised, the Egyptians and the British used a propaganda claiming that the northerners were seeking their own interest and were not considering the south. That propaganda was aired in the radio in many southern Sudanese dialects. This resulted in massive demonstrations in 1955 in the south demanding their own future. These events sowed the seeds of the civil war between the north and the south (Warburg, 1979).

From this historical narrative and applying my theory, we can infer that the traditional leaders played a substantial role on mobilizing the Sudanese population on several arenas. Their legitimacy was driven from their spiritual appeal and political leverage, and was facilitated by their economic strength. One of the interesting points was the fact that the traditional leaders had this appeal among different segments of Sudanese population despite their level of education, location (urban or rural), ethnicity, economic status, and age. This signifies that there were characteristics that fared in a deeper socio-cultural ground through which Sudanese people were able to communicate, cooperate and deliberate on issues that

concern them as a nation. They were able to organize themselves and put demands and pressure on the central authority. They were also able to influence the course of the events to attain relative gains through negotiations and uprisings. It further signifies the role the traditional leaders can play vis-a vis these characteristics on that socio-cultural ground for purposes of mobilization and nation-building. This confirms that the institutional, economic, and bureaucratic measures used to evaluate democratization and nation-building are not adequate without the socio-cultural factors. These socio-cultural factors do not need to be individualism and capitalism by necessity as have been espoused. For the organizations of the traditional leaders in the above-narrated era were established on the socio-cultural values of the Sudanese people and was grounded in their historical experience as a society.

Moreover, we do not expect a democratic integration of the traditional leaders in a colonial regime. But we observed that the role of the traditional leaders was further promoted and strengthened when integrated in the central government -albeit a colonial government- or when given the required latitude to pursue their activities. An example of this was when Sayyid Abdu Alrahman was allowed to cultivate his family's estates, when his support needed during World War I and allowed to mobilize the people freely. Another example was When World War II was anticipated, and when some of the southern leaders were given the chance to participate in a conference the result was the cancelation of movement restrictions. Thus, the experience of the interaction between the colonial British and the traditional leaders in Sudan highlights the import of the attitude of the central authorities toward the traditional leaders and the effects of that attitude on their activities. The more permissive and constructive that attitude is, the more productive the traditional leaders could be in the society. Additionally, the failing attempts of the British government to impose traditional leaders or to create parallel leaders in order to eradicate the influence of the existing ones offer particular valuable lessons. First, in order for the chiefs and leaders to be appealing, their legitimacy should be driven from the existing socio-cultural ground and the historical experience of the community. Second, it is essential to interpret the social reality of the community and acknowledge their dynamics in order to implement a significant positive change. Third, it is critical to approach the attempted change while being considerate of those communities' views and how they perceive their wellbeing. Fourth, and the most important,



is to forge policies that serve the socio-economic and socio-political needs of those communities instead of seeking means of controlling them or seeking ways to “modernizing” them.

Additionally, acknowledging the achievements of the traditional leaders during the colonial era in Sudan is illuminating for both theoretical and practical purposes. That is, the achievements of the traditional leaders in education, agriculture, publication, and political mobilization add to theories of democracy and participation that the values upon which the Western democracies were built are not the sole key factors to democracies’ success as has been promoted. Rather, values and cultures of other societies have the capabilities of nurturing popular participation on their own grounds. Also, defining the bases of democracy and participation from single perspective is misleading and futile when applied on different contexts. For instance, if it has been concluded that African societies are inherently prone to failing states, it is because of the premises, upon which this conclusion was built, were erroneous. For, when addressing the African societies, analysts look for the features and historical factors that made the story of the Western societies. When the present features in Africa do not match the deterministically assumed elements of success, based on the Western story, it is concluded that there is a puzzle or that there are inherent factors of failure. This contributes to theories in democracy the element of diversity, a compelling realistic fact of humans’ societies, instead of assessing governance on singular perspective of capitalism or individualism. That is, to revise the measures held by the epistemic communities on the concepts of good governance and participation and the necessary ground for their success, or at least to revisit the proposed means and processes to achieve the good governance. Hence, the practical implication of such illumination is that in attempting to achieve social change in the direction of democratization and popular participation, it is an imperative to approach the traditional leaders and facilitate their involvement in such projects. This includes the process of understanding their communities as a whole of inseparable parts and considering their own interpretation for their needs and how to attain them. We should also examine the relation between traditional leaders and the central authority in terms of their position in the total political system of the country and the attitude of the central authority toward them. Then

transform this relationship into a positive and constructive relationship that aims at promoting participation and nation-building. .

## **Post-colonialism**

### **1956-1969**

The political structure and the events during the British rule laid the foundation for the multiple problems that faced the country in the consequent periods, and the consecutive Sudanese regimes perpetuated those problems. This is especially true in the rural areas in general and the in south in particular. The post-colonial period witnessed the dramatic shift of power centers from the rural areas to the center represented in the urban settings where the economic and political activities were concentrated. This created the fundamental rural-urban discrepancy in regards to issues of socio-economic development. Henceforth, from this part on, we will treat the rural as correspondent term for the traditional communities because they are the areas where the traditional communities exist. This will have analytical implication for our thesis. For, the traditional communities in the previous section were part of both the center and the rural areas where their leaderships were dealing with the government while maintaining their heavy political weight in the rural areas. After the independence and due to a confluence of socio-economic factors, the concentration of political power in the urban setting became more apparent. It brought with it social changes in those urban settings which eliminated the possibility of traditional organization along with its traditional leadership.

Hence, when addressing traditional communities with their leadership in this section, we refer to the rural areas where such structure exists. We will discuss why it is important to integrate the traditional leadership of the rural areas in a democratic national structure. In doing so, we will maintain the reference to the central authority's attitude, as has been stated in the theory, as critical factor on determining the reactions and roles of the traditional leadership and the outcomes of this on the local and national levels. We will explore the maneuvers exerted by different regimes in regards to the traditional communities in the rural areas. In addition, we will explain how the identification with the leadership and its representational power are crucial for a sustainable democratic structure at the local level of these communities and on the national level. This representation is contingent to its

legitimacy as socio-culturally driven leadership that corresponds with the worldview of the community as opposed to being imposed leadership or worldview. Through this, we will notice that it is impossible to separate between the events as results of the precedent eras and as causes for the current manifestations of the lack of representation of the cultural multiple groupings of Sudanese society which led to the rural-urban imbalances. These manifestations include the absence of sustainable development, poverty, unemployment, conflicts, civil wars, and displacement.

Following the independence of Sudan the centers of power were heavily concentrated in the capital in particular and in other urban areas in general. The rural areas were relied upon more for electoral purposes where the two major parties increased the rural constituencies in 1957, a move acquired them the majority of the seats in the parliament (Warburg, 1979). Additionally, and as has been discussed above, the “south policy” presented a perfect recipe for deepened inequalities, momentous grievances, and, subsequently, a civil war. Then, the governments took over either dealt with these issues heedlessly or contributed to them. For instance, in 1953, in the “Sudanization” process, only eight leaders, among eight hundred, represented the south. That was facilitated by the lack of politically organized southern entities and the isolation of the south and made it easier for this disproportionate representation to occur. In addition, the southerners also were not represented in the negotiations with Britain and Egypt in regards of the future of Sudan. Obviously, it was due to the “south policy” where they were subjected to cultural and political siege. That was changed, though slightly, after Juba Conference, where some leaders became the mouthpiece of the south. Expectedly, a number of riots took place in the south in 1953 and followed by a strike of the Azandi workers in 1955. The grievances of the southerners were expressed again in the rebellion of the Equatorial Corps Sudan Defense force in 1955. These events were the heralds of the civil war in the south which commenced in 1958 (Khalid, 1990).

These scenarios were far from being exclusively a south problem; other parts of the country, though less internationally pronounced, expressed the same grievances. For instance, the Darfur Development Front in the west, the Nuba Mountains Union in the south west, and the Beja in the east began to exhibit the results of negligence since 1953. In 1958,

the Beja Conference was formed where it called for autonomy of the eastern parts, development, social services, and representation in the parliament. Similar movements existed in the north and should have warned against the alienation of the country's minorities and majorities. Even those entities such as Farmers Unions and Trade Unions, which were supposed to play a unifying role by including rural areas, were succumbed to the capital's polity (Khalid, 1990). The ruling parties neglected the omnipresent discrepancies of development and the results of exploitation left by the colonial rule. They rather were preoccupied by the sectarian divisions. Also, their policies were highly influenced and confused by the international East-West tensions. Consequently, General Ibrahim Aboud military regime took over in 1958 (Khalid, 1990). Moreover, in 1958, the southerners demanded federation, equal status for English with Arabic and for Christianity with Islam, separate military forces in the south consistent exclusively with southerners. When these demands were rejected and the government insisted on adhering to more unitary system the southerners walked out of the parliament; an incident paved the way for an escalated south problem (Lesch, 1998).

The fact that the military coup took over without encountering resistance indicates a fragile rule if not the longing of the people for a relief. This had much to do with the concentration of power in the urban center and in hands of the few. The military regime made some changes in the managerial level. It attempted to set a representative government especially in the rural areas and form system of local, provincial, and central councils. But the fact that it was a military regime was not accepted by the public and the growing resistance led to boycotting these councils and rendered them unproductive. The criticism hailed on this setting that it was similar to the British "Advisory Council" of 1943 which the people detested and boycotted. Additionally, the local councils were run by the government officers who were, especially in the south, did not represent the grass-root and the decision making did not involve local people. It was considered merely mimicry of the national parliament; drawn from narrow base and largely unrepresentative (Khalid, 1990). Moreover, the problem of the south was considered an artificial problem and the federalism and separation were regarded harmful to the future of the country therefore it was thought to be resolved by unification measures. Subsequently, the British missionaries were expelled,

education was unified, and Arabic was introduced as the medium of instruction. Those who resisted were dealt with in a military fashion. This deepened the southerners' grievances and brought the demise of the regime later on (Warburg, 1979). Additionally, the regime also was influenced by the international Western-Eastern tensions especially in the issue of economic development; a fact hindered any type of progress on that field (Khalid, 1990).

Similar situation remained in the eastern parts among the Beja, Darfur in the west, and other rural areas. Moreover, in 1959, the regime was challenged by members of armed forces upon an agreement with Egypt to establish the Aswan dam. Those members had ties with the Nubian groups in the north who would be displaced by establishing the dam. Also, the Fur held several meetings to endorse the southerners' demands (Lesch, 1998). And since other parts of the country did not take arms yet, no serious considerations made to address the rural-urban discrepancies. The traditional leaders of the opposition party wrote a declaration on which they collected thousands of the people's signatures asking for democratic rule and the release of the arrested persons. That was followed by workers' strikes, farmers' resistance, trade union's protest, and students' union demonstrations. Also, in 1963 the armed resistance movement Anya-Nya appeared in the south and an open revolt flamed the south. Additionally, following students' debates on the country's problem the government took harsh measure to silence them. That was followed by massive strikes and demonstrations and was culminated by October 1964 revolution upon which the military regime handed over to a new civilian authority which ran elections in 1965. This government was dominated by the two major traditional parties and ruled until 1968 elections which showed in its results the dominance of traditional forces in Sudan. For among the 218 seats of the parliament the two major parties with their traditional leads won 167 seats. The remaining seats went to the socialists, the two southern parties, the Nuba in the south western parts, and the Beja tribes in the eastern parts of the country (Warburg 1979). This indicates the profound influence of the traditional elements on Sudanese society and their substantial role on affecting the course of socio-political events.

It is important to note that the transitional government, led by Sir- Alkhatim gained more respect and relative trust from the southerners. That was because of his attempts to solve the south problem by inviting all the groups of the south and talk to them directly. This

point substantiates our theory where it signifies the importance of the attitude of the central authority toward the traditional communities and their leaderships on determining their actions on the local and the national levels. Although the southerners did not speak with a unified voice, ultimately they called for self determination. Upon that a committee was established to form the recommendations which were erupted by the 1965 elections. The fighting in the south made voting in 1965 and, thereby, the representation in the parliament impossible for three years which more furthered the problem (Lesch, 1998).

Investigating the period after independence using our theoretical tools, we observe that the major change was the shift of the power of the traditional leaders, represented in the major political parties, from the rural areas to the urban areas where they became the holders of the central authority. This shift was only on the individual leaderships and their location because, in reality, they were very reliant on their electorates in the rural areas. But that reliance did not translate into actual programs of development or practical policies for improving the socio-economic problems. The leadership of the traditional forces was highly absorbed by the sectarian divisions and the international Eastern- Western tensions. The fact that they relied on the rural areas to carry the parliament indicates that they still had their linkages in those areas. But the fact that those areas were suffering socio-economically indicates that these linkages were not made use of for good governance purposes. This necessitates introducing institutional rules of accountability and review which supports our theoretical argument that by integrating traditional leaders in the traditional communities we bring necessary institutional change to the local community. Also, looking at the fact that certain areas took arms and some other areas formed organized groups to represent them ethno-politically, we infer that there was bias in representing the traditional forces of the country. The bias was manifested in the concentration of power in hands of the leaders of in the urban centers and specifically in the capital. Interestingly, that bias was carried on a democratic process where the domination of certain parties could always outvote the rest of the nation's elements. This highlights the fact more sufficient democratic measures are required to guarantee the representation of the society.

Although that bias in the center might not be intentional and had much to do with the historical courses of events, neglecting the issue does not exonerate the leaders from their

national responsibilities. For if the cultural and social groupings of Sudan were considered as a compelling reality and dealt with in a comprehensive manner and just framework, different scenarios of representation and governance could have taken place. For instance, if the traditional leaders and chiefs of the cultural groups were negotiated with or involved in needs assessment, policy formation, or building structure of representation, many of the issues concerned their communities would have been seriously addressed. This, indeed, required the awareness of the elites in the central authority of the necessary steps for nation-building through the participation of the traditional elites and their communities. Furthermore, the fact that the traditional leaders of the center, then, did not tackle the issue of equal development and good governance at that time with direct responsibility perpetuated the chronic dilemmas of the country's poverty and conflicts plague the country to date.

In addition, considering the fact that even the rural areas that supported the traditional leaders in the center suffered from socio-economic problem signifies the problematic type of the relationship between those leaders and their bases. It indicates that it is important to introduce accountability as critical element of governance. Therefore, the integration of the traditional leaders could play the role of introducing the institutional practices and democratic rule to the local communities. This is possible to be established within the socio-cultural ethos of the society which advocates collective responsibility as essential value of the community upon which a lot of social activities of solidarity and support of Sudanese society find their bases. The accountability measure could also be founded by introducing institutional measures of conduct by engaging the traditional elites in institutional activities on the national level. Thus, from this discussion, we infer the importance of addressing two measures of representing these communities. First, it is important to integrate the traditional leaders as a tool for comprehensive representation and nation-building process. That is because relying only on the classic democratic procedures of elections and voting did not guarantee equally considering the demands of all the nation's groupings. Second, it is important to address the nature of the relationship between the traditional leaders and their bases especially in the rural areas. For if the leaders in the center relied on the votes of their bases in the rural areas but did not address their socio-economic problems, an accountability

standard needed to be sought. That would be a part of introducing the democratic rules and institutional practice to the local communities as part of a profound democratization process.

Furthermore, we noticed that the same problem of rural-center imbalance continued into the military regime of General Aboud, where the attempts to represent the rural areas and their traditional groupings did not take the issues of development and representation from nation-building perspective. Rather the regime walked the familiar path of narrow representation of the public by establishing the councils and appointing government officers to them. This eliminated the decision making as a community and grass-roots driven process. Indeed, this would debilitate, as we have observed, the legitimacy of these councils at the local level and make them less attentive to the communities' interests. This, again, confirms the import of engaging the local traditional elites in such institutional processes where they have more appeal to their communities and are more attentive to their needs. This point finds its support within the argument about social capital and traditional authority where traditional authority drives its legitimacy from being part of the community's cultural system but at the same time reliant on the social capital and networks of the community to maintain its legitimacy. Importantly, this legitimacy is reciprocated by being attentive to the community's needs and being an influential leading participant of it. These bases of analysis are crucial when addressing the issues of rural representation, development, and nation-building because they reveal the real socio-cultural and socio-political dynamics of these communities. Ignoring these structural facts of those communities would lead to the observed undesirable outcomes of instability on the short and/or long run. This, again, confirms that the traditional leadership is vital to be integrated in a national democratic structure.

### **1969-1985**

In 1969, a group of army officers, named the "Free Officers", led by Numiri took over the government claiming that there was a need to eradicate the traditional forces from the political scene of the country. Upon their rhetoric against the traditional forces, an uprising erupted in 1970 in Aba Island, the cradle of the Mahdists and their heir traditional forces. That revolt was brought down by a brutal military action and the blood bath weakened them as a group. The other major traditional force, led by Sayyid Ali, remained silent. That was attributed to the fact that the Mahdists, unlike the Sayyid Ali's followers,



consider their strong political role as inseparable from their religious belief. In his fight against the traditional forces, Numiri allied with the communist party which had strong presence among workers, peasants, students, and the professionals. He, majorly, relied on their organizational skills which were proven successful in 1964 and 1967. But they opposed his brutal military measures against the traditional communities (Warburg, 1979). In regards to the south problem, the new military regime promoted regional autonomy within a united Sudan. Upon this the “government would recognize the cultural and historical differences between the north and the south and the southern people have the right to develop their respective cultures and traditions within a united socialist Sudan” (Lesch, 1998:46). Therefore, Numiri’s appointee as minister of southern affair was a southerner who participated in the negotiation committee during the transitional government of 1965.

Upon these moves and according the orientation of the regime, the Addis Ababa agreement was signed in 1972 between the south and north ending the war for the first time in seventeen years. The south became one region with one regional assembly which would elect High Executive Council. This regional government was responsible for social, cultural, and economic affairs with financial support from the central government. Decentralization was incorporated with proportional representation in the center. This was important because “equal representation in the center alone always ended in a south being a minority and regional self-government alone always led to “getthoization” of the south” (Lesch, 1998:45). Although Arabic remained the country’s official language, English was designated as the principal language of the south and the indigenous languages of the south were taught in schools. That Act was incorporated in the constitution and could only be changed by three-quarters vote in the national assembly and two thirds of the southern electorate. Also, according to the Act, Islam and Christianity should be respected along with the indigenous “noble spiritual beliefs” (Lesch, 1998). The most radical change occurred by the creation of what was called the “People’s Local government” a program designed to mobilize people to participate in system of governance from grass-root level. The grass-root unit of it in the rural areas was the village and the encampment of the nomads while in the urban areas it was the block. This program was made as part of a strategy of “opening to the rural areas”. Its goal was to cater for the cultural and ethnic heterogeneity of the Sudanese society and to put an

end to the uneven development. This period witnessed notable economic success and stability especially in previously stressed rural areas. Numiri's government, for at least the first ten years of it, was dominated by technocrats who were non-ideological liberal academics operating its different offices and ministers. In the light of our thesis, the positive outcomes of recognizing the society's diversity and tailoring the government's strategies and policies to meet this diversity were positive evidence for our theory. For the representation of cultural groupings in a national system produced progress in the development of the rural areas and their traditional communities. Additionally, the attitude of the Numiri's rule, at that period, was the driving force for such change which is another evidence for our theory that the central authority's attitude and intentions is a decisive element of the integration process and its outcomes.

Furthermore, the deterioration of the local governments and their diminished popular participatory role which occurred later on was attributed, by some analysts, to the lack of political will in the center, weakness of commitment from below when observing the obstacles from above, and the expelled tribal elites tried to hinder the process because they were not involved (Khalid, 1990:266). This analysis validates our theory that the absent political will of the central authority affected the local government. Another significant point is that the excluded traditional leaders were hindering factors to the process. This also supports my theory as it responds to the argument that the traditional leaders should be excluded because they challenge the democratization process. For the events mentioned-above indicate that excluding the traditional leaders, because they are obstacles, does not bring about the desired outcomes and the probability of a sustainable process with them included is higher than without them.

Moreover, upon the allocation of natural resources in different parts of the periphery areas of the south, Numiri started to contest the geographic affiliations of these areas. This, accompanied by the drastic economic needs of the south, stirred the tensions between the southerners and the government. These events, along with allocation of northern troops in the south, abrogated the Addis Ababa agreement. In addition, there was sentiment in the south against the domination of the Dinka tribe in their bureaucratic system. Consequently, Numiri re-divided the region into three provinces, dissolved the High Executive Council, appointed

governors to the provinces, controlled revenues, and shifted the army's control to the center. Southern politicians contributed to the erosion of the agreement by allowing Numiri to intervene when it benefited them personally (Lesch, 1998). This was, again, an indicative of the incomplete pluralist system where the participation of traditional and local communities was eroded and control from the center reappeared to generate the witnessed negative outcomes.

Additionally, during this late period of his rule, domestically, Numiri was mainly supported by the radical Islamist group the NIF-after he had shifted his orientation from secularism- which gave him public support after losing it. This increased the tension in the south and some parts of the country further because it violated the recognition of the multiplicity of cultures and the diversity in Sudan. When the Islamists promoted the Sharia law in Numiri's regime, it was highly denounced and condemned by religious leaders, Sufi leaders, Republican Muslims, professionals and the general public because it violated the constitution and discriminated against non-Muslims. That was followed by resignation of thousands of doctors and strikes of many professional sectors expressing their denunciation (Lesch, 1998). In the rest of the rural areas there was drought and desertification in Darfur and Kordofan in the west, and the Beja region in the east which drove thousands of people to the urban centers. Despite that, under pressure from the IMF and the U.S, which maintained good relation with the regime, Numiri imposed "austerity measures" and decreased the public expenditure and lift goods' subsidies; a fact that devaluated the currency and led the prices of goods to soar. The impact of that was most drastic in the rural areas and traditional communities where the development was already in stalemate. This instigated massive strikes and riots in all societies sectors led by professionals' unions and students' unions. Then, the war in the south was resumed in 1983. The public resentment in the rest of the country continued through massive demonstrations, strikes, and resignation until it was culminated by April 1985 revolution which ended the rule of Numiri and set a transitional government (Lesch, 1998).

By examining Numiri's rule, we observe that when his government was oriented toward openness to the rural areas and their traditional communities, the standards of economic development, stability, and popular participation and even peace were on the

positive part of the axes. This was achieved by; first, recognizing the cultural and ethnic heterogeneity of the Sudanese society as was espoused in Addis Ababa agreement in 1972. That recognition was translated in actual policies to represent the traditional communities and launch development projects in the rural areas. Then, we notice that the factors provided by the analysts to explain the deterioration of the local government and lack of popular participation after their successes signal the points promoted by our thesis. They can be elaborated as follows: first, the attitude of the central authority toward these local entities where the ruler became less committed to the notion of public participation. This was obvious on the lack of administrative and financial support from the center to those entities. Second, the exclusion of the tribal elites created a hindrance to these entities to perform either because they were disenchanted by their exclusion or because of their existential influence on their community. Whatever the case was, it indicates that integrating the traditional elites is crucial for the success of local institutions and popular participation. This is either to eliminate their counterproductive role, if there is such possibility as has been argued by some, by engaging them in institutional practices, or to harness their influence for development and nation-building purposes. This confirms our proposition that the integration of the traditional leadership matters and the attitude of the central government toward them is essential for their positive contribution.

Furthermore, it is needless to say that the shift of Numiri's ideology from the extreme left to the extreme right had its profound impacts on the society on many aspects. What concerns us here is that by adopting the Sharia laws and other homogenization measures, Numiri's rule relegated the cultural diversity with its various traditional communities of the country to non-existence. In Addition, we notice that the application of these laws was correlating with the instability and economic deterioration in different parts of the country but much more in the south. This was simply because Sudan is religiously and culturally a heterogeneous country, and within the Muslim population there were diverse schools of thoughts which some of them disagreed with the application of the Sharia laws. Thus, we can soundly put forth that the lack of representation of these cultural communities in a solid national structure had very much to contribute to that denigration. For instance, if these traditional communities were represented, their mere existence in organized bodies would

have signified the government's recognition to them, and, thereby, would have been offered the due respect. Thus, the integration of traditional elites in institutional system is forcefully symbolic of the country's cultural and ethnic diversity. By that, every leader in the center would contemplate this compelling fact when ironing a law, policy, or an administrative decision. That would have obviated the consequences of imposing a single worldview on the traditional communities which generated the civil war and the displacement of the rural populations.

### **1985-1989**

By the advent of April 1985 revolution, a new democratic era was set on the stage. The previous rule left behind three major crises: the controversy over the application of the Sharia Law, the civil war, and the broken economy. All of these problems were related to the urban-center discrepancy and to the representation and participation of the diverse communities of Sudan. The first conundrum was about the bases of the rule and the worldview where the application of Sharia law was promoted by radical Islamists and strongly opposed by secularists, Christians, and other African traditions. Even some of the political forces in the center, represented in the major two parties, that embraced popular religious beliefs -although opposed Sharia upon its application- did not have motives to strongly oppose it later on because it did not radically negate their general belief system. In addition, during the elections, there was intense fighting in the south; a fact resulted in very low rate of voting in the south. In addition, the Islamic National Front NIF, which was known for its highly organized bodies, managed to get the additional seats allocated for the graduates in the south besides unexpected high percentages of votes in the rest of the country. These conditions led to overrepresentation of the radical Islamist group in the new government. Although, Al Mahdi, the new prime minister, would try to modify the Sharia Law with new code that satisfy all parties, the overrepresentation of the National Islamic Front NIF and underrepresentation of the southern parties precluded that strategy. (Lesch, 1998) So, the democratic system which, for matters of representation and participation, depended only on the voting would not guarantee the rights of the minorities because they would be outvoted. That point, again, necessitates a type of structural representation of the traditional communities with real equal rights to those of the majorities.

In addition, the economic struggles left by Numiri's regime continued to exacerbate especially in the rural areas where there was no palpable improvement and no clear vision for the future. Upon the negotiations of the government with the IMF there was striking increase of prices of goods, which heavily impacted the rural areas and subsequently the demonstrations hit the streets. In the south, the prime minister replaced the HEC by the council for the south and its head, politicians, and the governors were chosen from the southern parties. The disagreement of the southerners on how to rule gave the prime minister the free hand to act and choose the leaders of the council and the governors in south. Upon this, some of the southern politicians withdrew from the cabinet leaving only three cabinet members from the south. Additionally, the tensions continued between the ruling parties over the bases of governance. The Islamists were pushing for more radical Sharia laws and the secular, some of Muslims, and African parties were pushing for secularism. Moreover, by the escalating tensions in the center and violence in the south and the west, the government-supported militia was armed to fight the rebellion in the south and the west, a move decried by some members of the cabinet. Some of the political parties composed an opposition and negotiated with the southern rebellions and reached an agreement in 1988 which was rejected by parties in power (Lesch, 1998). later on the prime minister, under pressure and the extensive divisions, decided to implement the agreement as a new program for the state and reconfigure the government. This move shelved the Islamic decree set by Numiri's rule and his NIF partners. The NIF did not accept its loss of power and the rejection of its ideological bases by major political parties and the high command of the armed forces. Few hours before the parliament were to vote to freeze the Sharia law, an NIF-orchestrated coup captured power in June 1989.

When we examine this period of the history of Sudan, we notice that the politicians in the center were preoccupied intensively with the cleavages over the Sharia law, which coincided with the economic deterioration in the rural areas of the south where the war did not allow for development. This indicates a fundamental crisis of recognizing the cultural plurality of the Sudanese society. For, despite its democratic nature, the government failed to form a representative structure that emphasizes the country's diversity by not imposing the radical Islamic worldviews on the non-Muslim communities. Also it failed to promote

participation on the bases of this diversity at the grass-roots level. Rather, the ethnic and cultural communities, especially in the rural areas, were excluded or politicized, polarized, and manipulated to serve the agenda of those in the center as the case of the militias in the west and southern west parts of Darfur and Kordofan. Indeed, this exacerbated economic conditions and escalated violence in the south, the west and the south west. Thus, we can assert that voting, as a democratic measure, was not adequate to guarantee the public representation, participation, and equal rights as we have seen. Rather, a more comprehensive structure needs to be created to mobilize the public for participation and development aims. The integration of traditional leaders in a representative national structure is one critical measure to guarantee that. This, as was mentioned before, assures the society's diversity and increases the popular participation. That is because the cultural symbolism and identification with the leadership is a significant motivational element for participation. As has been noticed the imposition of a singular culture and worldview, the Sharia law for example, resulted in the marginalization and exclusion of these communities, and thereby, diminished their participation and escalated violence.

Therefore, it is a necessity to involve all cultural and social views in a framework that affirms recognition and respect while facilitating communication between different communities. This is to say that the socio-cultural appeal of the leadership on the local level is crucial to create sense of belonging and motivate participation. The fact that some of the government members and political parties' leaders belonged to these communities, pinpoints significant diagnostic direction. That is, the individual politicians', from the rural areas, involvement in the center does not remedy the problem of representation and participation of the local communities since the ailments of governance continued to be if not worsened. Thus, a more radical solution needs to be established to address the issues of participation and development from the grass-roots level through the involvement of the traditional leaders and their communities. This, on a different level, promotes nation-building on factual bases of the cultural diversity and ethnic pluralism of Sudan. To achieve that, the attitude of the leadership in the center is a critical factor to ensure the integration of the traditional leaders in a national structure to promote their positive contribution. That is by, first, acknowledging the reality of the diverse society, then, a commitment to building the nation through the

promotion of popular participation via an integrated traditional leadership. That integration must be designed to motivate participation in the development of the local communities and to facilitate views and interests to the center. The center's role would be the financial and administrative support and facilitating the cross-communal communication for nation-building aims.

### **1989-Present**

The National Islamic Front fulfilled its threats during the democratic rule, when felt marginalized and disempowered by the majority, and executed a military coup in June 1989. The new NIF government, as other coups, declared that its primary mission was to salvage the country from the deteriorating socio-economic and socio-political conditions ravaging the society under the previous government. They argued that the democratic rule was divisive and Numiri's rule was totalitarian. The NIF proposed the unmediated "popular participation" to manage, build, and secure the country. A mobilized public would fight corruption and promote production, they espoused, following Islamic virtues. Hence, they set up "popular salvation committees" for these goals and systemized them during the Conference for National Dialogue on the Political System in 1990. Following these talks, the government unexpectedly announced the establishment of the Transitional National Assembly (TNA). It was the first all-appointed parliament in Sudan's history. Its members were appointed before the election of any of the local committees. So, instead of building the participatory system from the bottom, the process was reversed. This TNA incorporated major tribal leaders who were appointed to fortify its legitimacy. Despite that the TNA's members were appointed to guarantee their loyalty, the legislations did not pass through it and sometimes were implemented even when disapproved by it. On the committees' and local levels when the elections were held, the NIF fared very poor so the appointed head of these committees arbitrarily increased the NIF share of seats to outnumber other members. In some towns other "illegal" political parties won and the NIF members were decisively defeated. These events resulted in massive arrests and the elections were voided. On the national level there was virtual boycott for the elections where very few people went to participate. Additionally, the government dissolved all professional associations, unions, and civil organizations. The students' and youth unions were also closed and only opened to be government-sponsored



agencies. The demonstrations, strikes, protests, and other kinds of political activism continued to resist the regime on different levels and through the span of the regimes' rule. This of course resulted in massive arrests, exiles, and sometimes execution. Despite the abundant rejection of Sudanese public for the government, it continued its proclamations about ruling a unifying Sudan as Islamic state under Sharia law. This, indeed, marginalized and oppressed non-Muslims communities and secularists and exacerbated the civil war in the south and the Nuba Mountains since it was deemed a holy war (Lesch, 1989).

Moreover, the literature on democracy has espoused that a capitalist globalized economy will lead to a politically open democratic system. That is, capitalism and globalized economy from one side and democracy from the other have been associated as variables that either lead to one another or mutually strengthen each other. By examining the rural areas and the traditional communities in Sudan under the economic reform of the NIF regime, we observe the socio-economic distress they have experienced as a result of the capitalist open economy. This is especially true in the areas where the subsistence agriculture has been altered to large crops schemes as in eastern Sudan. That is, ecological, political and economic factors have combined to create both a recurrent food security crisis and situation of chronic structural poverty for many of the rural households. For instance, the recurrent droughts have decimated pasture and livestock herds, significantly reducing the sustainability of pastoral livelihoods (Assal and Ali, 2007). In addition, in the western part, despite its tremendous contribution to the national economy, the lack of services of health, veterinary, and water led to severe socio-economic distress. Furthermore, in regard to the southern part, Switzer discussed that the "efforts to appropriate land, for oil, from groups without giving them a voice in the decision-making process and without what they perceive to be equitable compensation leads to rising social tensions and outbreaks of rebellion. This rise in social tensions is compounded by the environmental consequences of oil production that diminish the traditional sources of livelihoods" (Switzer, 2002). He also added that the government conducted brutal raids to clear the oil field from its indigenous people. This is in addition to the other pernicious effects of oil production on the traditional activities. For example, the production of oil is accompanied with changes on the landscape and affects the movement of

the pastoralists of the south and hinders the traditional farming. This is in addition to the contamination of water and soil which results in disease and death (Switzer, 2002).

This discussion sends a signal that there is a need to revisit some of the premises of democratization and the measurement of good governance as it is usually associated deterministically with global economic activities. This is not to fundamentally refute the globalized capitalist economy or the benefits it generates on the national level. Rather, it is to revisit it as a variable usually linked to democracy and reevaluate the proposed mechanisms of initiating democratization and good governance on these bases without putting into account the impacts on the traditional communities and their socio-economic systems. Part of that, is to reconsider the measurement of economic growth by national income only because it does not reveal such ailments at the local levels. In addition, the economic difficulties in the rural areas are strongly related to the issues of political participation and representation of these communities. For instance, an integrated traditional leadership in a structure of governance would channel the concerns and interests of the local communities to the central government about their economic situation. It would also contribute to the assessment and planning for economic and social development projects in a way that would eliminate, or alleviate, the resultant distress on the traditional communities. The traditional leaders would indicate aspects that are not usually considered in the economic planning. For instance, they would explain the socio-cultural values of the economic resources of the traditional communities and how they relate to their worldviews. This will designate more sound mechanisms to foster socio-economic development without profoundly inflicting those communities. On the national level, such insights would obviate the social costs of poverty, war, disease, displacement, and families' disintegration.

To reflect on the above narrative of the current regime of the NIF in the light of our theory, we observe that the previously existing dilemmas of governance continued to worsen and impact the Sudanese society. Despite the complicated events and entangled scenarios, we can reduce the complexity of the situation to the previously mentioned conundrums: the imposition of Sharia law on non-Muslim communities, civil war, and economic development. These problems are interrelated and all resulted from the accumulated crisis of representation and participation of the diverse communities of Sudan. For the NIF government pursued its

project, which was declared and commenced since Numiri's rule, a project of Sudan the Islamic state. Hence, the changing factor in the NIF regime, compared to its predecessors, is that it is the sole holder of power without contenders. This gave it a free hand on radically changing the socio-political and socio-economic structure of the country despite the assiduous resistance of the public. In such a regime, we do not expect any attempts of representing different sectors of the societies; traditional or urban. But the fact that the NIF government tried to mobilize the public in different forms indicates the importance of participation and representation even for such tyrannical system. Another significant point is that when the NIF established its appointed parliament, it sought the involvement of the traditional leaders in it. This signifies the paramount import of traditional leaders for the legitimacy of any governance structure in a diverse society like the Sudanese. The fact that the appointed parliaments along with its local committees were doomed to failure is justifiable by their lack of appeal to the grass-roots level population. For instance, if the traditional communities were integrated in a manner that acknowledges the diverse composition of the society and ensures its communities' rights to pursue their worldviews, the socio-political events would have taken different direction. This manner would be in an integrated traditional leadership which the local communities could identify with and have sense of belonging to. Also, as previously mentioned, the mere fact of integrating the traditional leaders is an indicative of the government's recognition and respect for the varied views of the Sudanese society.

This would have been manifested, for example, in alternative economic solutions for the distressed traditional economic activities or different manners of implementing the economic projects. For example, a prior research and investigation on these communities' socio-cultural and socio-economic system as a whole of inseparable parts would have revealed the interconnectedness of its different aspects and their relation to their worldviews. Such results would have identified alternative ways for economic and social development projects in these areas to obviate the social cost of destabilizing these communities. The integration of the traditional leaders in a structural manner would avail the sources of such consultation to voice the views and concerns of these communities. This confirms that the integration of the traditional leaders would promote economic development in the right

direction. It is needless to say that a socio-economically stable community is well-suited to participate in issues of development and governance than a distressed community. This stability, indeed, is accompanied by a sense of belonging to the socio-cultural community under a legitimate appealing leadership. This is as opposed to the NIF's appointed leaders or their imposed worldview. That confirms our theory on the conditionality of the attitude of the central authority and the importance of an appealing leadership on the local level with a worldview the traditional communities could identify with for popular participation in development and nation-building goals.

## **CHAPTER 5. JABARONA CAMP FOR INTERNALLY DISPLACED PEOPLE**

### **Phoenix Community**

The protracted civil wars and conflicts, plus problems of development, had rampant social impacts on different parts and various aspects of society. Nevertheless, drastic impacts are more apparent in rural areas. One resultant phenomenon of these impacts is the displacement of the impacted communities. In Sudan, given the previous narratives, there are many displaced people's camps around the urban centers. In their new locations, the displaced people are faced with various types of stress and hardships pertaining to their loss of livelihood and the challenges of coping with the new conditions. Given the exceptional circumstances under which they live, an investigation of traditional leadership in this different setting was conducted to examine whether the importance of the traditional leaders is only relevant in the original communities in their natural physical and virtual worlds under the normal circumstances. If not, then the traditional leaders' role is a profound component of these communities' identities and an ingrained part of their socio-cultural system and, thereby, plays important role in sustaining their sense of belonging and stability. It was important to ascertain the effects of displacement because it identifies the ground upon which this research can establish grass-roots level structures of participation. From that level, one can defer to the nation-building projects that promote inter-communal communication and popular participation at the national level. This proposition was established upon the premise, as discussed previously, that the socio-cultural ground is a critical part of promoting participation under common sense of belonging and recognition of others.

### **Background and General Description:**

Jabarona camp for the Internally Displaced People (IDPs) is the largest camp for the (IDPs) in Khartoum the capital of Sudan which is located to the west of Omdurman. Its distance from Khartoum province is 25kms (security office records). The camp was established in 1991 by a decision of the Governor of Khartoum, after his order to transfer the (IDPs) from Khartoum North Province. Later, various groups of IDPs in the dispersed areas of the capital were also transferred to this camp. The area of the camp is not specified due to the increasing number of coming people since its establishment (Semi-structured interview).

In 1992, there were 68,936 people living in the camp and, among them, 9,847 families (Care Report 1992).

At the time of this research, Jabarona camp was inhabited by 175, 000 individuals, which included 28, 000 individual families, according to the last census. These people came from the war-affected regions, areas affected by tribal conflict, drought, and decertification. The majority of these people are from southern and western states, especially southern Kordofan. Southern tribes comprise 60% of the inhabitants, among which the Dinka tribe represents 40% of the southern tribes. In addition, the Nuba tribe, which represents 30% of the population of the camp, has 48 Nuba-tribe groups in the camp, Equatorial tribes 15%, the Nuer 3%, and the Shilluk 3%. The rest are comprised of Kordofan and Darfur tribes and Falata tribes (The Humanitarian Commission (HAC) Report 2001). In the beginning, when the camp was newly established, each tribe settled in an isolated living quarter. However, now they are mingling and nothing distinguishes them except their local languages. There are 16 elementary schools and one high school in the camp. These schools are either under the supervision of a church or the Ministry of Education. They employ 130 teachers and are supported by UNICEF and the Islamic Call (Dawa) Organization. There are no electricity lines in the camp, but some individuals own generators y who rent electricity to the inhabitants of the camp. A transportation line links the camp with the nearest market center. It is operated by a number of minibuses under the supervision of the security office of the camp. There are also some carts available for inter-camp transportation.

The predominant economic activity in the camp is vending in the marketplace. Most of the workers in the market are women who sell tea, food and vegetables. There are also small shops for retail supplies which are operated by men. Some shops sell communication services, and there are also a few cloth and tailor shops. A few video clubs are owned by individuals as income sources. Some individuals own electric generators as sources of income. A few people sell traditional wines. There is some prostitution. In addition, many of the IDPs work as marginal vendors in city markets. Some camp inhabitants have joined the armed forces. (Observation and interviews).

## **Administration**

In regards to the administration of the camp, politically, the camp belongs to the Omdurman municipality; however, the actual administration is under the Humanitarian Commission (HAC), a government agency concerned with humanitarian activities. Administration is accomplished through chiefs and other native administrators. There is also a security and external affairs division of HAC in the camp as well as a police office which belongs to the Ministry of the Interior (Semi-structured interview). The camp is divided administratively into two major sections; each further divided into 32 blocks. Each block has its administrative committee to which the youth committee and the women's committee are affiliated. There are a considerable number of sultans (Chiefs) in the camp who represent tribal leadership and traditional courts. Each tribe has its own chief who solves conflicts and disputes within the tribe or between tribes. There are also other chiefs' courts held periodically (weekly or every two weeks) to resolve conflicts amongst the members of the same tribe. There are also joint intertribal courts that have been very effective in resolving such conflicts. These courts are involved in the administration of the camp and, sometimes, they coordinate to guarantee neutrality in judgment. Important to this research is that the traditional leaders represent the primary authority in the camp wherein researchers, organizations, and institutions generally contact them for purposes of implementing projects or programs. Traditional leaders are consulted on issues such as how to approach the community or how to build committees, teams or training groups. The camp's inhabitants also consult the traditional leaders about general information about the camps and its social or cultural problems. It is important to note that all the committees, teams, and organized entities in the camp are represented by individuals from each tribe in the camp. This is because the traditional leaders direct the people to include all segments of the camp community in their activities (semi-structured interview).

At the time of the establishing the camp, each tribe resolved its problems internally since each tribe lived in isolation. Then, the Sultans convened and formed a council from amongst them to discuss all the affairs of the tribes as well as conflicts amongst individuals. This was the first common organization of the tribes and their sultans. Coincidentally, the government had formed Shoura (Consultation) Councils in all the states of Sudan. Thus, a

similar Shoura Council was established in the camp, which incorporated all the chiefs and leaders of the tribes in the camp. These Shoura Councils convened regularly to discuss security, services and social issues. Later on, the Shoura Councils were dissolved after the formation of the popular committees as previously mentioned. Moreover, the traditional leaders also have clubs (shelters) where they meet regularly and discuss issues and form organized bodies for particular services. (The semi-structured interview)

### **Socio-cultural activities**

Regarding the cultural and social activities in the camp, there are various types of societies and associations in the camp which are of tribal and non-tribal nature. The tribal associations serve the issues of a specific tribes and the non-tribal serve the camp's as a community. They operate in various fields, most of which belong to the youth. The most active and famous associations and societies are the non-tribal ones. The governmental and non-governmental organizations also arrange seminars, workshops and training courses in the camp. Most of these activities are arranged for specific cultural programs. Moreover, there are many folklore bands in the camp which represent the majority of the Sudanese tribes. Each band has a director who leads the band under the supervision of the tribal leadership. These bands normally make their shows during the national occasions financed by the committees of the National Congress. They work during festivities such as Christmas, marriage, and national occasions. The bands also work in programs that are organized by some non-governmental institutions. They may work jointly or separately on these occasions. Generally, when the bands work jointly, all the people of the camp dance together on these occasions (Semi-structured interview).

### **Fieldwork**

This research was conducted in Jabarona camp for the IDPs–Omdurman in Oct.-Dec .2005. The tools employed in this research were questionnaire, semi-structured interview, and focus group discussion. The participants of this research were asked about their engagement in the camp's cultural, service, political, social, and religious activities. Moreover, the participants were also asked about perceptions and attitudes toward other tribes before and after the displacement. Additionally, the participants were asked about their



involvement in any sort of disputes and conflicts before and after the displacement and how they solved them. Appendix A provides tables summarizing the results of the fieldwork.

The questions of this study were designed to explore the changes that have occurred on the displaced persons' popular participation. The responses would serve to verify the impact of integrating traditional leaders in institutions and organizational bodies. The questions also examined changes that occurred in the ethnic, cultural and political perceptions towards each other after their [the traditional leaders'] presence in the camp. This would investigate the potentiality of nation-building project via programs of popular participation and inter-communal interactions through integrated traditional leadership in a national structure. In relation to this point, the questions were composed to learn to what extent they are peacefully interacting and accepting each other, and how they perceive the peaceful coexistence in the camp. More importantly, the questions sought to reveal the mechanisms that have led to these changes and the supporting factors with further focus on the impact of the integration of the traditional leaders in the governmental and non-governmental institutions. In addition, some questions addressed general social, economic and health situations to draw a full picture about the people of the camp and the conditions under which they live.

In the questionnaire part of this study, there were 56% male and 44% female participants. The highest percentages were youth. Among those, 80% were 18 to 45 years of age (Appendix A-1). Most of the participants (46%) were adult before displacement. This fact helps in comparing livelihood conditions and aspects before and after displacement.

The major reason for displacement, as predicted, was war (48%) (Appendix A-4). The draught and decertification caused 20% to move to seek jobs, whereas 16% moved for other reasons (A-4). The circumstances indicating the displacement as a result of the rural-urban discrepancies and their consequences. Moreover, the percentage of illiteracy among respondents was 54% (A-4). The highest level of education was the completion of high school (12%) (A-3). The rest of the categories ranged between primary and secondary. This indicates the total amount of education among displaced persons was between 18 to 56 years. This is a negative indication because those who belong to this category of age have the biggest impact on the community. Displaced people represent a high illiteracy rate because stability and security are critical for education.

The majority of displaced persons used to be farmers and pastoralists; 18% were pastoralists whereas 28% were farmers (A-3). The percentage of workers such as construction and tea selling was 6%; 24% were housewives; and 20% formerly were students (A-3). This provides evidence of the socio-economic distress impact the traditional communities.

As shown in Appendix A-5, in comparison with the previous question, it was observed that the percentage of agriculture and grazing was zero after displacement. On the other hand, the percentage of workers increased from 6% to 40%. This indicates the socio-economic distress and insecurities generated by the displacement. The percentage of housewives reduced from 24% to 22%. This means that women needed to work after displacement to meet their families' needs after losing their husbands, brothers, and fathers in the war. The percentage of students also declined, from 20% to 8%, accompanied by an increase in military enlistment, from 5% to 10%. There was an increase in trade, from 4% to 8% and unemployment, from 0% before displacement to 12% after displacement. These factors indicate the economic and educational deterioration resulting from war, drought, lack of development and displacement. In addition, women had assumed different social roles which might have exposed them to greater involvement in the community activities.

The following questions centered around disputes within the same tribe and between different tribes. These questions examined the level of conflict across tribes and to determine the source (intertribal or intra-tribal phenomenon) and how it has been affected by the displacement. The disputes and conflicts were few within one's own tribe before displacement (2%) compared to (4%) after displacement. This could be attributed to solidarity and strong tribal ties among individuals within the tribe. They also could be attributed to the relative stability at their original homes. The slight increase in disputes within the tribe after displacement might be construed as weakness in tribal affiliations as the primary source of affiliation. However, in general, the percentage of disputes within a tribe before and after the displacement were low (2% and 4%). (See Appendix A-6, & A-7)

Before displacement, 66% of the participants were involved in disputes or conflicts with another tribe/s than their own tribe (Appendix A-8). This percentage changed drastically (to 4% after the displacement). This fact could also be drawn on the other side of the same

coin; 34% were not involved in any conflict or dispute before displacement, which increased to 96% for “are not involved in any conflicts or disputes” after the displacement. These figures indicate that there was significant change in attitudes or perceptions between the different tribes, a fact that affirmed there were reasons or factors that led to this significant change and social peace in the camp. Compared to the previous number of conflicts within the same tribe, one could elicit that the major change occurred in the intra-tribal relations, perceptions, and attitudes.

The participants who said that they were involved in any sort of conflict with other tribes were asked to articulate these tribes. The disputes before displacement took place in places where conflicts are well-known in Sudan, such as southern Kordofan, southern Sudan and western Sudan. It is important to observe that these are the same tribes that are living and interacting and cooperating in the camp.

The participants were asked what the mechanism they consider to solve their disputes, conflicts and social problems. The highest percent (68%) considered the common court to be their resort. It is important to note that the common court is a type of court formed jointly by the traditional leaders from different tribes which were not existent before the displacement (Semi-structured interviews). The courts were comprised of tribal leaders from each tribe that living in the camp. This is a significant point that a type of integration of the traditional leaders in mechanisms of conflict resolution. It provides indication of the spirit of the mutual respect and social peace in the camp that resulted from this integration.

As shown in Appendix A-11, all of the participants (100%) stated that they did not have any sort of membership or engagement with an organized body such as social, services, cultural or political committees before the displacement. Most (86%) of them said that they were now involved in some kind of activism with an organized body that belongs to either the government or to a non-governmental organization (A-12). Some of them were affiliated with more than one organized body (A-12). This indicates that engagement in any social activism is a new phenomenon that occurred within their presence in the camp. This phenomenon was expected to have radical impact on their perceptions and attitudes toward each other.

The total membership in non-governmental and the governmental organized bodies such as committees, societies, associations, and political parties was 86% (Appendix A-11).

All of the members were engaged in more than one institution or committee. These committees and coordinating bodies have created new environment for the various tribes to work and interact under the umbrella of the civil institutions upon civil principles and rules of affiliation. This is expected to raise awareness and introduce new laws of interaction and shared goals and interest. The types of the organized bodies mentioned in the questionnaire and the participants are involved with are governmental and non-governmental. This is strong evidence of increase in popular participation in the camp.

Those who were affiliated to a political party numbered 44% of the participants, 18% of whom were active members (Appendix A-12). This indicates there is sort of commitment to a national political body regardless of the ethnic origin or the tribal background. This could be considered a significant addition to the national spirit and activism in issues of collective concern. In addition, these sorts of affiliations make the individual dedicate herself/himself to the institution the fact broadens the possibilities of loyalties and widens the awareness of the individual to encompass the common interests of the nation instead of narrowing them down to the tribal and ethnic interests.

As shown in Appendix A-13, those who perform prayers in the mosques or in the churches numbered 62% of the participants and have sort of religious activity such as belonging to the mosques' or churches' committees. Among them 32% go regularly to perform their prayers, and 40% go sometimes to their mosques or churches. This finding is important because, as we have seen before that 28% of the participants were Muslims and 18% are Christians. These religious affiliations are not related to their ethnic and tribal affiliations, that the individuals in each group have different tribal and ethnic backgrounds. So, having them being active together in any sort of religious activity would contribute to their interaction, understanding, respect and recognition. These religious affiliations create chances for interactions between different tribes in the camp. The holy places, with their religious and spiritual atmosphere, create a good environment for interaction between the worshippers. The churches and mosques nominate people from different tribes to constitute administrative committees to run the mosque or the church. This is another pot for interaction among the (IDPs). This type of bodies are usually initiated and facilitated by the traditional

leaders. Thus, the integration of the traditional leaders in such types of committees stirs the public to participate in such activities.

In summary, it has been shown that there is a significant increase of the popular participation and representation in the administrative and organizational committees and coordinating bodies in the camp. Among the camp dwellers, 86% were members in an organized body, council, party or committee. Additionally, despite the scarcity in resources and means of decent life, there is organized services provision and shared management in the camp. It is important to add that these organized entities organize the IDPs to achieve common visions and goals for the camp's community. This was achieved by the equal tribal representation in the services committees and coordinating bodies. The equal representation was considered by the training providers after contacting the traditional leaders and consulting them on how to approach their communities. The representation of the tribes in the committees was considered as a critical condition of success of these programs. This fact proves that integrating the traditional leaders in institutions promote popular participation and leads to peaceful interaction and prevents tribal conflicts.

In addition, 44% of the participants were members in political parties, among them is 81% are active members in their political affiliation (Appendix A-12). This is considered a significant addition to the national spirit and the inclusive cause as opposed to the ethnic or tribal interest. In addition, 72% of the participants have sort of religious activity among them, 32% are active religious individuals who go to prayers regularly or members churches' and mosques' in councils or committees (A-13). This is important especially if it is linked to the fact that there is 82% Muslims and 18% Christians. These religious affiliations are not connected to the tribal and ethnic backgrounds, that Muslims and Christians belong to different tribal groups. Therefore, and contrary to what has been promoted, the religious activity in any form of committee, council, or prayer group could serve as enhancing element for the cross-tribal linkages. That is because these members would work for an inclusive spiritual cause despite the ethnic and tribal consideration. This is specifically true if it has been recognized that some of these religious committees have services and social activities for the public in the camp. Thus, integrating the spiritual leaders, as traditional leaders, could

serve to promote popular participation through programs for the public good and by advocating for values that motivate community activism.

In this light, the questionnaire confirmed that there is significant increase on popular participation in the IDPs camp. That is 86% of the questionnaire's participants participate in organized bodies. This is compared to 0% membership in such entities before displacement. Hence, the integration of the traditional leaders in organized bodies and institutions has powerful potential of increasing the popular participation. This is because the traditional leaders serve as source of information and consultation that informs the direction and execution of different social programs. Additionally, traditional leaders also ensure the sense of belonging to common socio-cultural ground through their experience and leadership abilities. This gives motivation to the public to participate in issues of common concern since the type of leadership is not imposed upon them and they can identify with their worldview.

Additionally, the questionnaire affirmed that there is decline in tribal conflict or violence between the tribes compared to when they were in their original places. That 66% stated that they were involved in a sort of dispute or conflict with another tribe before displacement. This percentage declined to 4% after the displacement. This confirms the fact that there is social peace and relative stability in the camp. In addition, it is shown that 68% of the participants consider the common court of the traditional leaders as a resort to solve their social problems. It is important to mention that these courts are composed in the camp by the chiefs of the different tribes. That means each tribe has a representative in the common court (semi-structured interviews). This fact strongly affirms the importance of integrating the traditional leaders in institutions to maintain stability and promote nation-building.

It is important to acknowledge that the integration of the traditional leaders, indeed, is not absolutely the sole sufficient factor led to the increase in popular participation. Rather, it is a necessary factor with significant importance. That was supported by several auxiliary conditions. Importantly, the financial, informational, and administrative support provided by the national and international organizations played substantial role on maintaining the activities in the camp. This point signifies that, on the national level, the attitude of the central state is crucial to play a similar supportive and facilitative role for the integration of

the traditional leadership in a national structure. Furthermore, other factors might have contributed to the increase of the popular participation such as the harsh circumstances which strengthen the IDPs' solidarity and bring them together. But a counter-argument might suggest that hardship could instigate conflicts and hostility because of the lack of resources and because of the stress. Thus, we argue that the traditional leaders played important role on mitigating such hostilities by mediating disputes and solving problems while promoting socio-cultural values of cooperation and solidarity. This was substantiated by the discussions in the interviews with the community leaders of the camp. The presence of the people together in one location also created the chance to know each other, besides, the presence of the organizations that provided services to the IDPs. Looking at these circumstances we can elicit that they are not strong enough by themselves to affect the IDPs rate of participation. Rather, the traditional leaders are the most critical factor given their existential influence on their communities and the type of cultural and social authority they wield on their communities. This point was validated by the fact they are the primary source of consultation to direct the activities of the organizations in the camp.

In short, the data confirm that the integration of the traditional leaders in the governmental and non-governmental institutions has contributed to promoting popular participation in the camp. This, indeed, in combination with the presence and the efforts made by these organizations through providing training and knowledge, financial and administrative support, and organizing them in coordinating bodies, service committees, and administrative entities.

In regards to the results of the interviews, the questions asked in the semi-structured interviews explore the potentiality of stability and nation-building that could result from the increased popular participation through an integrated traditional leadership. The plausibility of this potential could be traced in the different manifestations of social peace in the camp. For example, Abd Allah Adoma, the Fur tribe chief, stated that there are many cases of intermarriages which were aggressively refused before. He said "in our tribe it was considered a huge shame that one could be rejected or killed, if he or she married someone from different tribe, but now it is a commonplace and even blessed by the leaders." (See the appendix). The phenomenon of the intermarriage was mentioned several times by different

participants in the interviews. Moreover, Adoma discussed different manifestation of the social peace, he stated “when the Christians from the southern tribes have an occasion, they invite us, the Muslims, and have someone to slaughter a sheep the Islamic way to guarantee that we will eat in their ceremonies”. (See the Appendix B). The participants also indicated that they collect money for the social ceremonies such as marriages and funerals in different tribe and work together to serve the guests in the ceremonies.

Moreover, they highlighted that the younger people from different tribe dance many traditional dances of different tribes. Musa Khor Gamous, Nuba Sultan, Stated “Our children from the Dinka tribe dance Kiren, a Nuba traditional dance, you will see them in ceremonies and festivals” (See Appendix B). Furthermore, they indicated the role of the school in bringing the children together regardless of their tribal origins as was indicated by Hassan Juma Awad, the Hamar tribe Nazir/chief. Additionally, the participants mentioned the religious occasions as a manifestation of the social peace in the camp. They discussed how they organize public Ramadan Breakfasts and call upon all the people in the camp to join these public breakfasts regardless of their religions and tribes (Adoma, Fur tribe). Also, according to Sultan Tiya, Nuba tribe chief, the “closed ethnic group has a poor reserve of knowledge and experience because they reject all others’ knowledge and experience, they have no learning tendency but here in the camp every one try to share his information and learn from the others” (Sultan Tiya Interview). They have realized that all of them have valuable information and experiences which they need and can utilize. This is a powerful testimony for the potentiality of inter-communal interaction as a means of nation-building facilitated by the integrated traditional leadership.

Moreover, Musa Khur Gamous also mentioned that there is exchange in meals which were used to be traditional tribal meals. They also indicated the economic exchange as a means of social interaction. For example Hassan Juma Awad, the Hamar tribe Nazir, stated that: “our tribe is very famous with having good construction skills, so we help the people in other tribes to build their houses for reasonable wage” (see the appendix). In this regard, Samo Salih the active individual from Nuba tribe discussed that many tribes have some skills and activities and they exchange them in the market without frictions or problems. He mentioned example for that as water, wood selling, coal, washing and ironing, retails, etc. In



addition, the participants also mentioned the hard conditions and difficulties they face as displaced people as the catalyst of their cooperation and interconnectedness (Traiza Danieal, Baria tribe, and Peter Bouth, Nuer tribe). Traiza Danieal also mentioned the Women Groups and their neighborhood support groups where women from different tribes meet regularly, exchange visits, talk about family issues, and discuss social problems in the neighborhoods and raise fund or collect items for the needy women despite the tribal backgrounds. She also indicated that for the festivals and ceremonies, they collect money, work for together, and dance many traditional dances despite the tribal backgrounds. Moreover, they mentioned how the charitable agencies and NGOs played role in organizing their activities and making them work without bias in the camp (Samo Salih, Nuba and Regina, Shilluk tribe). This, indeed, is done through consultation with the traditional leaders and consideration of their advices and views.

Thus, the integration of traditional leaders in democratic institutions is a forceful tool to increase participation at the local level which, if organized in the right direction, would promote inter-communal interaction and promote nation-building.

## **CHAPTER 6. LESSONS LEARNED FROM OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES**

Despite the tremendous diversity in Africa, there are significant socio-political similarities among its countries. Historically, African societies had analogous social and cultural structures. This fact, combined with a shared legacy of colonialism, resulted in comparable political features and relatively typical social experiences. Traditional leadership with its pivotal role is one of the features the African societies have in common. Therefore, the issue of their interaction with the political system and their socio-cultural role is relevant to each African country. Although some of the African countries are still grappling with socio-political problems, others have made significant advancement toward a path of stability and democratic governance. Thus, as a way of learning and exchanging experiences, it is of substantial importance to examine the political experiences on the continent, especially those that have infamously experimented with the issue of integrated traditional leadership and its influence on socio-political dynamics. Hence, this chapter discusses the experiences of Namibia, Botswana, Nigeria, and South Africa to elicit lessons and demarcate general directions for future projects of democratization and nation building based on popular participation and grass-roots level involvement in development.

The strongly influential status of traditional leadership in Botswana continued to exert the same status during colonialism wherein traditional leadership did not experience fundamental deformation as the case in many African countries. With the persistent existence of traditional leaders and their durable socio-cultural influence, the ruling parties incorporated these leaders in their political activities. This resulted in successful electoral results where the political ideology was allied with cultural identity of the people. The unique marriage between the political dynamics and cultural symbolism produced a cohesiveness of socio-political process (Dusing, 2000). Although Botswana fostered an ethnically assimilationist state with one dominant ethnic party, the incorporation of traditional leadership as a tool for constructing common national identity supports this research thesis and offers practical lessons to be considered. That is, one should realize the vast cultural multiplicity of Sudan is an omnipresent characteristic feature of its society. Therefore, this multiplicity should determine the integration of traditional leadership in a national structure in a way that maintains cultural pluralism and protects the rights of groups and individuals.

Additionally, the administrative structure at the local level and the functions assigned to traditional leaders could be of a great benefit in regards to social and economic development activities. Botswana adopted a hierarchal structure in which economic and social responsibilities are distributed regionally where traditional leaders play significant managerial and consultation roles (Keulder, 1998). Sudan has a wide range of traditional communities, each exhibiting its unique cultural and social characteristics that are shaped by the physical environment that mutually impacts this environment. Thus, developmental activities need to be community-specific and must be established upon prior socio-cultural investigation and socio-economic research to interpret the needs of the communities on their own terms. The experience of Botswana in this regard supports this research's previous point about integrating traditional leadership in local and regional government for consultation and information purposes to fulfill this condition.

When examining Namibia, it can be seen that Namibian society has adopted a multiculturalist state under a "unity in diversity" slogan. During the political process of nation building, the multiethnic party coalition targeted local ethnic identities and enforced their party on the networks and built leaders with alliance with the traditional leaders. This resulted in bringing about ethnic fragmentation in the political process but, at the same time, it prevented the domination of one group in the state. Thus, the traditional structure serves more in oppositional channels of governance. In addition, a constitutional-only recognition of traditional leadership has served the symbolism of cultural and social diversity of the Namibian society. However, at the same time, the traditional leadership was relegated to the cultural sphere only and was barred from partaking in local government activities and issues of development (Dusing, 2000). This offers a valuable lesson for Sudan and supports this research thesis, that the integration of traditional leadership in local practical issues has the potential to serve as a powerful tool for popular participation and nation building. The fragmentation transmitted to the political process by the local ethnic cleavages in Namibia could have its justification in an alienated traditional leadership from the practical and developmental sphere to make it more rhetorical and symbolic. Thus, in Sudan one can advocate that greater involvement of traditional leadership in practical issues leads to a more interactive, participatory, and cohesive national political process. That is because cultural

symbolism should serve as medium for interaction and recognition which will be transformed into increasingly empirical projects.

As shown in Namibia, ethnic nationalism is the strongest force to challenge the project of multicultural state and nation-building in South Africa. In the transitional period, traditional leadership strongly applied for power bargaining. It was ascertained that the Zulu-dominated party did not build a modern party organization and still relies on traditional leadership to reach its rural areas. The central authority deals with traditional elites as custodians of culture and tradition. Thus, the elites' demands for cultural groups' rights, under a pluralist label, provide chances for ethnically rooted power bases. As in the case in Namibia, the constitutional recognition of the cultural groups' rights did not provide political and practical tools for traditional leaders to participate. Thus, their role is relegated to cultural symbolism allowing consultation and advisory tasks at the provincial level. Unlike Botswana, this recognition for diversity did not threaten the unity of the nation and the cohesiveness of the political process (Dusing, 2000). From this experience, one can argue that Sudan should learn from the fact that traditional leadership plays symbolic and advisory role to sustain diversity and cultural groups' rights based on constitutional recognition. However, it should avoid relegating the traditional leadership to symbolic positions only, and promote more administrative and developmental functions. This will consolidate the democratic process by strengthening the democratic aspects of traditional leadership through more engagement in local democratic processes to connect the local community with the national state.

In regards to Nigeria, many steps have been taken to enhance the performance of the local government resembled in traditional leadership. Yet, continuous interference from the center has weakened the exercise of power of the traditional leaders. This makes the position of the traditional leaders ironic because, on one hand, recognition of their power and their influence on their people resulted in a level of stability and strengthened the legitimacy. On the other hand, it was perceived as a hindering structure that prevents the process of nation-building and economic growth. The traditional leaders in Nigeria participate tremendously on the local administrative activities through their networks. More importantly, they mobilize the public for development programs while maintaining cultural and ceremonial

responsibilities. On the national level, they participate in State Councils, and assess and collect taxes. It was noted that, when the law designated tax collection as the governments' officials' task, the taxes were not collected for two months. That is because the traditional leaders used to initiate campaigns for tax collection as part of a cultural program (Keulder, 1998). This substantiates the research's thesis that the central state's attitude towards traditional leaders is critical to play a positive role at the local and national level. When the central state and the "modernizing" forces tried to undermine the traditional leadership and did not serve their aim, it hindered local administrative and developmental activities. In Sudan, a similar argument can be made that the denial or attempts to undermine traditional communities generate problems at the local level, and these problems affected the national level as discussed in the previous sections.

## **CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

The theory guiding this study has proposed that the integration of the traditional leaders in a national structure would increase the popular participation. The premise was based on the fact that traditional leaders exert tremendous influence on their communities. The theory was also based on the fact that legitimacy of leadership and its appeal is a critical element in the relationship between traditional leaders and their communities. To satisfy this appeal, legitimacy is necessarily driven and maintained by cultural values and social norms of the community. There is an interactive dialectic relationship that extends to shape the relationship between the leaders and their communities through a reciprocated relationship between the communities' members who assert the leaders' tasks and provide them with their power. The theory was also established on the observation that the traditional communities need to be dealt with as integrated whole, with parts that complement one another in dynamically interactive relationships to produce a community with its organization and characteristics. That is, social and cultural systems are intricately woven by economic, environmental and the spiritual threads that lay the complex web of the community which is influenced by its historical experience and situated in its physical world.

This theoretical concept dictates specific implications when addressing traditional communities' issues of representation, participation, development and governance. This is especially important in pluralist societies with socio-cultural cleavages and socio-political divisions that led to complicated problems of poverty, civil war, and lack of development. These problems, with application of specific theoretical framework, are plausibly traced to the origin of a lack of representation in a national structure that enables the traditional communities' participation to meet their demands. The lack of representation also results in the absence of the required financial and administrative facilities that promote local activities and projects that mobilize the community to manage its resources and protect its livelihood through local organized entities. This, in turn, prevents a regular systematic input from the local traditional communities on the central government; which, in fact, perpetuates their local problems and renders them vulnerable to the central authority's abuse and violations. The problem of representation is explained by this research's theory when realizing that the traditional communities' representation includes the recognition and respect of their

worldviews, their socio-cultural values and norms, and their right to pursue their favorable livelihoods. This includes their social and cultural rights to maintain their belief systems and to exercise their socio-economic activities in ways they perceive are compatible within their physical and virtual world. Thus, the integration of traditional leaders in a national democratic structure is necessary to represent traditional communities and facilitate their participation through a means promote development at the local level and link the communities to the central authority as a crucial condition of good governance.

On another level, the problem of representation of traditional communities in a national structure results in fragmentation of the society as whole and breeds hostile relations between its groupings of people. That is because the problems of resource management and lack of development create frictions and scarcity of facilities which leads to conflicts. In addition, a passive or negative central authority prevents the public's identification with the central authority which is important as this identification is indicative of the legitimacy and representational power of the central authority. A lack of identification contributes to the fragmentation of society and weakens its common ground for belonging to a national entity. Therefore, the integration of traditional leaders plays substantial role in eliminating the hostility and fragmentation of society in many ways. First, it enables the implementation of developmental programs since traditional leaders voice the concerns of their communities. This voice can prevents conflict over resources and alleviate poverty problems. Second, the integration of traditional leaders in a national structure facilitates communication and motivates greater inter-communal interaction by providing institutional means to exchange experience and cultures, which promotes solidarity and social support. Third, the traditional leaders' representation in a national structure symbolizes a unified national identity that embraces diversity and cultural multiplicity of the Sudanese society. This supports the mutual recognition and respect of traditional communities among each other. Conversely, it would compel the central authority to recognize this diversity and consider the community regarding its political conduct.

More importantly, to achieve integration of traditional leaders in a national structure with its anticipated outcomes, the attitude of the central authority is a decisive determining factor regarding the outcomes of such process. A supportive central authority that pursues a

constructive relationship with traditional leaders and maneuvers to integrate them in a national structure would generate integrated traditional leaders with positive productive roles in their local communities and on the national level. The role of the central authority includes, but is not limited to, providing administrative and financial support for this process.

By examining the Sudanese traditional leaders' roles in the socio-political dynamics of Sudan in a longitudinal study, the researcher found that traditional leaders continued to influence events substantially. They were paramount elements of the Sudanese communities' structure. Taking the importance of the traditional leaders as proxy for their integration in a national structure, the researcher deduced that such process would lead to significant results if conducted in an informed, prudent manner. Through a study of successive eras in Sudan's history, the role of the central authority determined the outcomes of the traditional leaders' roles. In the pre-colonial periods, the permissive and cooperative nature of the central authority allowed positive outcomes of traditional leaders' roles wherein they led educational activities along with other community programs of social support. When the central authority of the Turkish rule antagonized the traditional leaders, it instigated competition between them and changed their relationship with their communities to a more polarizing and recruiting one. Additionally, when Al-Mahdi initiated his movement, his recognition and respect of the traditional leaders enabled the success of his movement and carried it to a massive national movement that ended colonial rule and established a national state. Moreover, when the British repressed the Sudanese society, traditional leaders were less able to influence the political scene. This was altered when the British allowed more room for traditional leaders, especially when it needed their collaboration for international strategies during the World War I and II. Furthermore, after independence, the power centers shifted to shape a new political scenario within the country, where power was concentrated in the urban areas and rural areas represented the disadvantaged segments of the country. This is an important elaboration because the rural areas correspond with traditional communities—the subject of this study. The shift of power resulted in rural-urban discrepancies and produced the social ailments of poverty, unemployment, conflict, and civil war. This research espoused that the lack of representation of these traditional communities was the origin of such ailments; therefore, the traditional leaders of these communities should be involved in a



national structure. The research explored the attitudes of the various central authorities and revealed that the central authority determines the outcome of traditional leaders' roles in their communities.

Furthermore, it was inferred that, through the eras studied in this research, imposing traditional leaders from outside the community to control the generally results in counterproductive outcomes on the local and the national level. In addition, imposing worldviews on traditional communities as a way to gain unification is a dangerous strategy and generally leads to conflict and destruction. Excluding traditional leaders from the political process is a hindering, rather than constructive move because it excludes the potential of a larger mobilization and stronger legitimacy. Considering the previous points, integration of traditional leaders leads to the increase of popular participation at the local level and would facilitates engagement on the national level. The anticipated product of participation is programs of development and socio-cultural activism. Integrated leaders will facilitate an inter-communal interaction and promote a symbolism of national cultural identity embracing the diversity of the society.

This research is substantiated through the experience of Jabarona camp for the internally displaced people, wherein the traditional leaders led the socio-economic and socio-cultural activities of the camp. Their significant influence, enabled by the financial and administrative support of national and international organizations, led to high, popular participation in the camp and social peace where the various cultural groups cooperated harmoniously in running the activities of the camp. Furthermore, learning from the experiences of other African countries helps to demarcate the appropriate direction toward the process of integration of traditional leaders' in Sudan.

Future research should investigate how to technically construct the national structure that integrates traditional leaders. There is also a need for research on the socio-cultural elements that support and promote engagement in local and national activities to determine strategies for emphasizing such elements in national programs. Further research should also be conducted to learn more about traditional communities to facilitate their integration in an appropriate manner.

### **Recommendations**

Future policy needs to target promoting the representation of traditional communities as a means to alleviate the problems resulting from rural-urban discrepancies, especially the disadvantages of their traditional communities. The integration of traditional leaders should motivate direction in policymaking that fosters the following goals:

- Conduct prior research that investigates traditional communities as interconnected parts for each development program within traditional communities.
- Encourage and support organizations and institutions for development that involve people of different origin in order to the course of social interaction in the track that leads to integration.
- Organize national conferences for traditional leaders to discuss their issues of concern.
- Involve the people and organize them in government, public activities through involvement of traditional leaders in such programs. This would help in embracing diversity and enhancing the spirit of nationalism.
- Encourage activities and programs that strengthen national ties, e.g. national contests among schools, youth tours, open cultural dialogues, etc.
- Create encouraging governmental policies for interaction to develop tribal interrelationships through local-level inter-tribal coordinating committees.
- Procure financial support for organization, training, and interaction activities among these entities.
- Implement development projects that are administrated by and target people of different tribal origins, especially in areas of tribal friction and tension over resources.

## APPENDIX A. DEMOGRAPHICS OF THE CAMP

### A-1 Age

	Age				
Range	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65
Number	13	13	14	8	2
Percentage	26%	26%	28%	16%	4%

### A-2 Education

	Education					
Range	Illiterate	Some Primary	Primary completion	Some Secondary	Secondary completion	Post secondary
Number	27	4	8	5	6	-
Percentage	54%	8%	16%	10%	12%	0%

### A-3 Profession before displacement

	Profession							
Range	Herder	Farmer	Merchant	workers	Housewives	Student	Military	Unemployed
Number	9	14	1	3	12	10	1	-
Percentage	18%	28%	2%	6%	24%	20%	2%	-

### A-4 Reasons of displacement

	Reason			
Range	War	Draught	Seeking work	Other
Number	24	10	8	8
Percentage	48%	20%	16%	16%

### A-5 Profession after displacement

	Profession							
Range	Herder	Farmer	workers	Housewife	Student	Military	merchant	Unemployed
Number	-	-	20	11	4	5	4	6
Percentage	-	-	40%	22%	8%	10%	8%	12%

**A-6 Dispute within the tribe**

Dispute	Before Displacement		After Displacement	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Case				
Number	1	49	2	48
Percentage	2%	98%	4%	96%

**A-7 Disputing tribes**

Tribes	Number of Cases
Dinka	6
Nuba	8
Messairia	6
Nuer	9
Masaleet	4

**A-8 Disputes and conflicts with another tribe**

Dispute	Before displacement		After displacement	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Case				
Number	33	17	2	48
Percentage	66%	34%	4%	96%

**A-9 Mechanisms for solving social problems and disputes**

Mechanism	Tribal Leader	Common Court	Police
Number	12	34	4
Percentage	24%	68%	8%

**A-10 Membership in organized bodies**

Membership	Before displacement		After displacement	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Case				
Number	-	50	43	7
Percentage	0%	100%	86%	14%

**A-11 Membership in organized bodies after displacement**

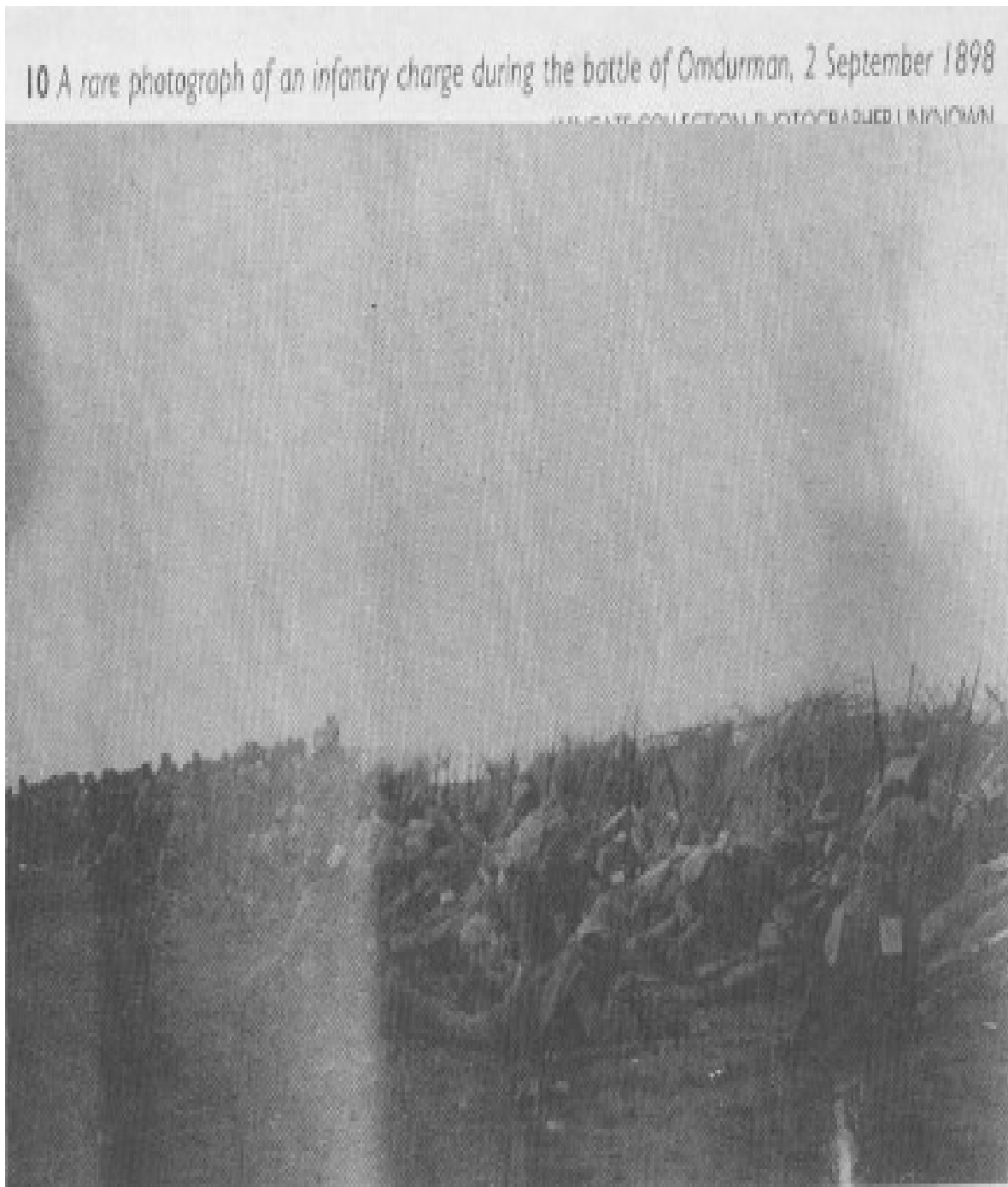
Range	Number of Memberships in Organized Bodies							
	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Eight	None
Number	13	12	7	3	4	2	2	7
Percentage	26%	24%	14%	6%	8%	4%	4%	14%

**A-12 Affiliation with political party**

Affiliated	Yes	No
Number	22	28
Percentage	44%	56%
Active	Yes	No
Number	9	13
Percentage	18%	26%

**A-13 Involvement in religious activities**

Range	Regular performance		
	Yes	Sometimes	No
Number	16	20	14
Percentage	32%	40%	28%

**APPENDIX B. PHOTOS****Omdurman Battle 1898**

**The Mahiyya Kailfa and his assistant died in the 1899 Umm Diwбайkarat battle**



*11 Mahdist prisoners filing past the ruins of the Khallifa's mihrab after the battle of Omdurman. Thousands of prisoners were taken, to be employed in various public works projects, including notably the reconstruction of Khartoum*

**Mahdiyya army prisoners after the Omdurman battle**



21 Umm Diwaykarot, 24 November 1899. The bodies of the Khalifa 'Abdullahi (left) and the Amir Ahmad Fadil displayed after the battle. When it had become clear that the day was lost, the Khalifa and his chief lieutenants had knelt on their sheepskins and fearlessly met their deaths

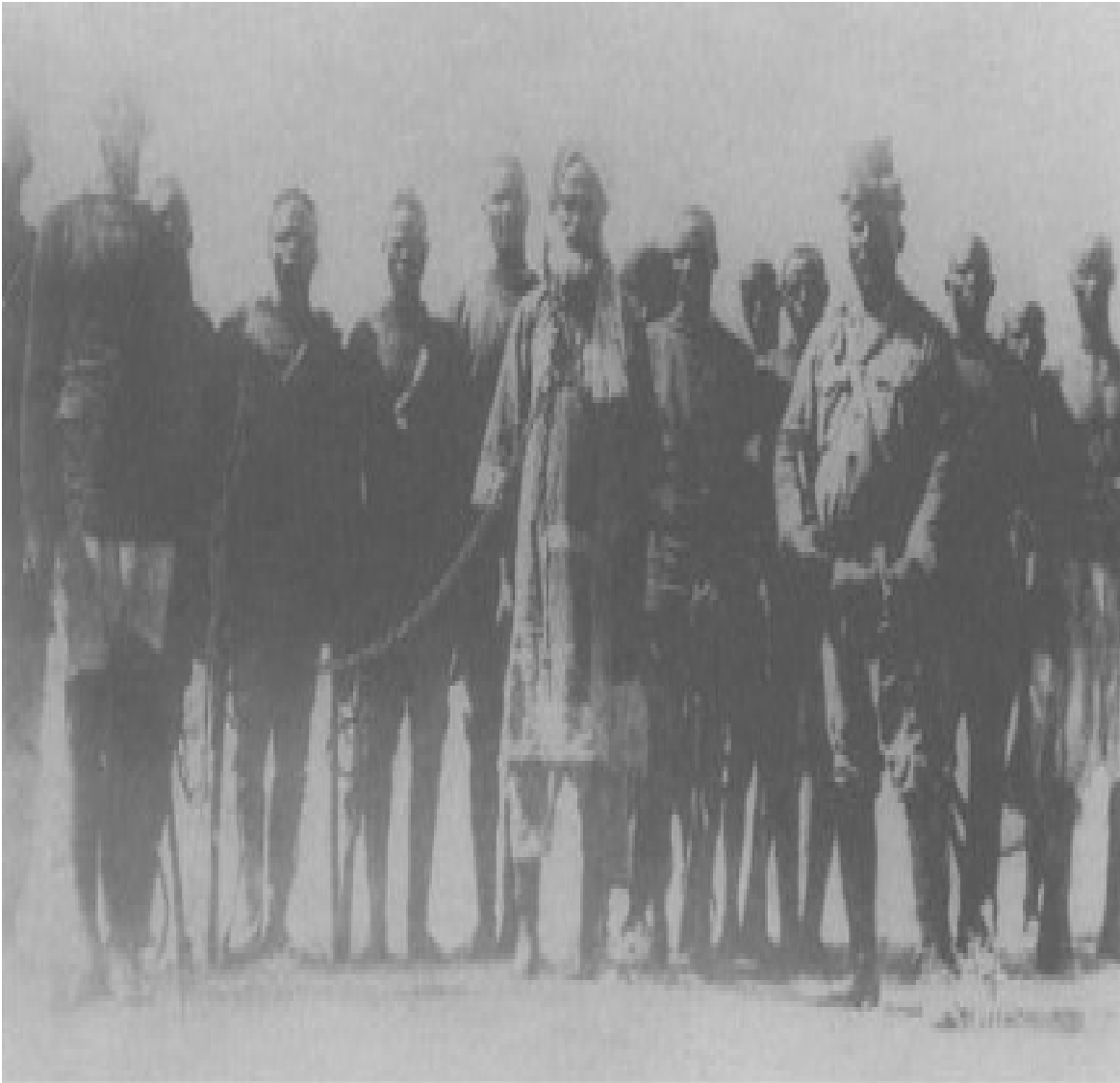
A. CAMERON COLLECTION. PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN

**Ali Dinar, the last Sultan (King) of Darfur Kingdom  
after the British conquest in 1916**





**Othman Digna, the Mahdist leader in Eastern Sudan who was  
arrested by the British in 1900**



**22** *The Amir 'Uthman Digna, in chains at the time of his capture in 1900. Of the Mahdi's commanders he was best known outside the Sudan, for his resourceful leadership of Hadendowa irregulars (called Fuzzy-wuzzies by the British) in the eastern Sudan. He died a prisoner in 1926*

FLAVELL COLLECTION. PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN

**The Mahdya revolution leader, Imam Al-Mahdi, and his sons and capturers**

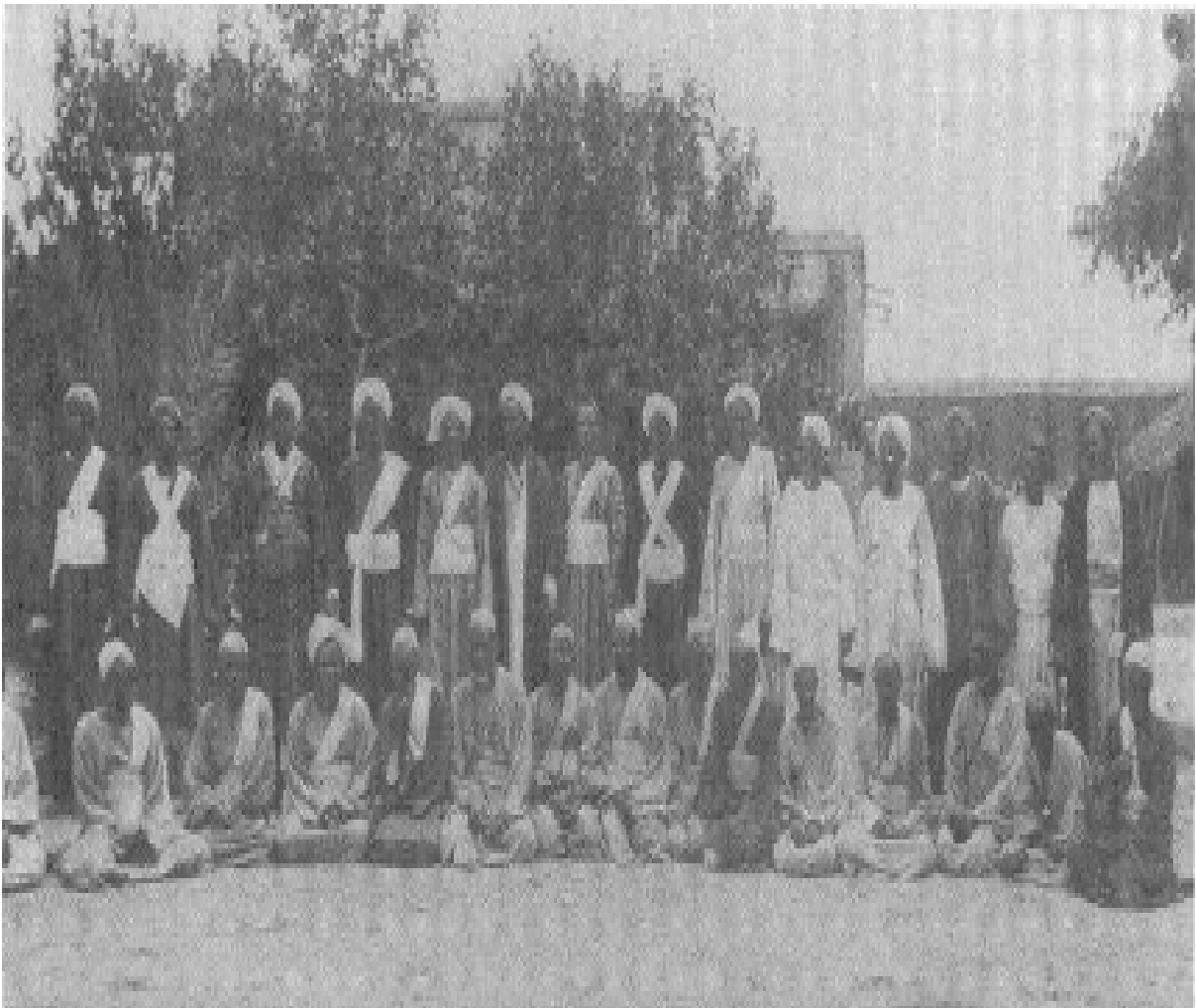


13 A rare photograph of three of the four sons of the Mahdi who survived the Anglo-Egyptian conquest. Pictured in the centre is 'Abd al-Rahman, then (1898) aged 13. Flanking him are al-Bushra and al-Fadil, who were executed by the new government at Shukkaba in August 1899 in an incident that remains unclear. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Mahdi (1905-1950) later emerged as a leading religious and political figure.

**Three of the four sons of the Mahdi: Sayyed Abd Alrahman (center)**



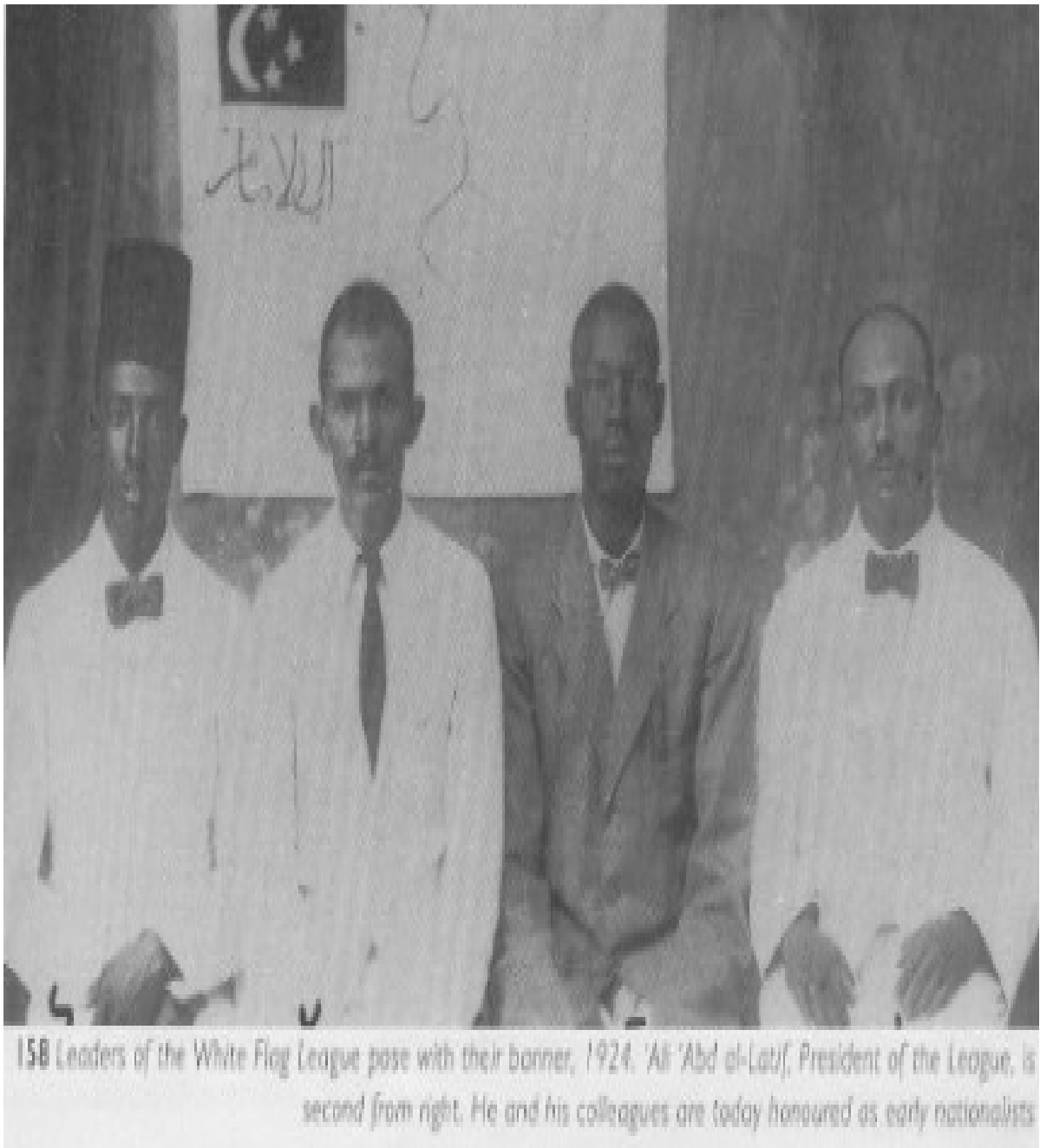
**Abu Sin, appointed Chief of Sudanese traditional leaders during British rule in 1928**



14 Notables of Darfur, soon after the Anglo-Egyptian conquest, 1916. On the far right is Mahmud al-Dadlingawi, commander-in-chief of the defeated Fur army. Fourth from the right is the Maqdam Sharif or 'viceroy' of northern Darfur.

MACMICHAEL COLLECTION. PHOTOGRAPHER, PROBABLY H.A. MACMICHAEL.

**Fur Kingdom leaders soon after the British conquest**



**Leaders of the White Flag League, a youth movement for independence in 1924**

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